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Delaware History

Volume IX *October, 1961* Number 4

TRANSPORTATION AND BRANDYWINE INDUSTRIES: 1800-1840 *Ralph D. Gray* 303

A DELAWAREAN'S VIEW OF RUSSIA IN 1816 *Stanley J. Zyzniewski* 326

COMMODORE AND MRS. THOMAS MACDONOUGH: SOME LIGHTS ON THEIR FAMILY LIFE *Charles G. Muller* 341

DELAWARE'S CAPTURED COLONIAL RECORDS *Harold Hancock* 355

NEWS NOTES AND BOOK REPORTS 365

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Illustrations

LEA MILLS ON THE BRANDYWINE — Frontispiece

COMMODORE THOMAS MACDONOUGH — facing page 341

LEA MILLS ON THE BRANDYWINE

Shallops coming up the Christina and Delaware Rivers had direct access to the mills located on the Brandywine, as shown by this painting (*c.* 1830) of the Lea Mills. They were located below Market Street Bridge where the Brandywine meets tidewater.

Transportation and Brandywine Industries, 1800–1840

By Ralph D. Gray *

BRANDYWINE Creek flows through the farmlands of Chester County, Pennsylvania, and the granite hills of northern Delaware to its terminus at Wilmington and tidewater. The stream, although demonstrating in 1800 sufficient power " to turn in its course, from 60 to 80 mills," is but sixty miles in length.[1] Boasting possession of all the requirements for manufacturing, the Brandywine Valley became one of the most important industrial communities of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There was a ready source of power—the surging force of the water in the Brandywine. Access to the necessary raw materials, which could be produced locally or brought in from surrounding areas, was convenient. A market existed in the neighboring state of Pennsylvania; in fact, Philadelphia was the leading commercial center of the colonies and young republic.[2] Even the world market was open to the Brandywine manufacturers by way of the seemingly ubiquitous Philadelphia merchant. Discounting such individual factors as financial backing and technical ability—for neither was needed in excessive quantity—the key to successful manufacturing efforts lay in efficient and economic transportation facilities.

The importance of transportation to industry, agriculture, and commerce caused vigorous attempts at improvements to

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1 Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America . . . 1795, 1796, and 1797* (2nd ed.; London: 1800), III, 492-93. La Rochefoucault Liancourt was understating rather than exaggerating the potentialities of the stream. Another contemporary source reveals that 131 mills were being turned by the water in the Brandywine in 1793. *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), January 17, 1793.

2 George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: 1951), pp. 7-8.

be made in the early nineteenth century. The great unconquered distances in America were a curse to the young nation, exercising profound influence over its geographic expansion and industrial growth. Limited systems of communication restricted the manufacturer in markets and in the area from which to get raw materials, all of which had combined to keep industries small and localized throughout the eighteenth century. Moreover, the traveler in America was painfully aware of the inadequacies of transportation facilities. Overland travel was slow and tedious, even dangerous.[3] Water routes were seasonal, often circuitous, and similarly hazardous. Anxiously desired improvements soon appeared in the form of turnpikes, steamboats, canals, and railroads.

The Brandywine area in miniature embodied most of the changes and advances made in transportation. Since its convenient water transportation played an important role in making the Brandywine Valley industrially important, improvements in this type of communication were adopted very early. Canals were projected and steamboats operating in the area even before the nineteenth century began. Overland transportation, equally essential to the valley, particularly at the upper end, received early attention. Turnpikes crisscrossed the valley in the first decades of the new century; a railroad was constructed when the idea was still new in America.

As a case study in the history of transportation development, this small, highly industrialized area is significant. Exactly what was done in the Brandywine Valley to improve transportation? How did a flour miller or a tanner, an ironmaster or a gunpowder producer use the transportation facilities provided? The colonial story is largely one of water transportation. Schooners, sloops, and shallops plied along the tidal streams or up and down the coast in numbers that are undreamed of today. Pack horses, freight lines, and stage lines did operate, but poor roads, prohibitive costs, and the interminable time required for overland travel gave a decided superiority to stream and coastal naviga-

[3] Senator James A. Bayard wrote to Caesar A. Rodney in 1806: "I wish to God I was in Washington or not obliged to go there this winter. The prospect before me, from roads & weather, with a family along absolutely frightens me." December 27, 1806, Caesar A. Rodney Papers (Delaware State Archives, Dover).

tion. Despite the attendant handicaps and hazards, it was used extensively. Near the turn of the century, Delawareans participated in two abortive attempts to improve these water communications by canalization.

A Brandywine canal was favored by Wilmington merchants and Chester County, Pennsylvania, farmers. Its purpose was to link the great valley of Chester County with the port of Wilmington, a feat later accomplished by turnpike and railroad. The canal was mentioned in the Philadelphia newspapers as early as August, 1792; five months later it was being persuasively urged in an article signed by "A Pennsylvania Farmer."[4] Originally proposed as a means of providing a cheap and easy conveyance to market for Chester County farm produce, the waterway also was shown to be advantageous to the numerous manufactories located along the stream. The "Farmer" listed the annual productions of the 131 mills along the Brandywine and gave detailed calculations on the economic advantages of the canal to them.[5]

The General Assembly of Pennsylvania, sympathetic to the desires of the canal supporters, authorized the incorporation of a company to build the canal on April 10, 1793. Brought to the attention of the Delaware legislature, the canal project was received favorably in the Senate when, on June 13, 1793, that body heard the report of a joint commission of Delaware and Pennsylvania citizens. The commission, with Delaware represented by Jacob Broom, Joseph Shallcross, Eleazer McComb, and Samuel Hollingsworth, considered "the Design practicable, and if executed with Skill, . . . attended with great Advantages to the agricultural and commercial Interests of both States. . . . The probable Expence of the work . . . would not exceed *Sixty Thousand Pounds.*"[6]

[4] *Independent Gazeteer* (Philadelphia), August 25, 1792, cited by John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York: c. 1885), II, 75; *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, January 17, 1793. The latter article was reprinted in the *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), January 26, 1793.

[5] For a listing of the number and type of each mill, see Peter C. Welsh, "Merchants, Millers, and Ocean Ships: The Components of an Early American Industrial Town," *Delaware History*, VII (September, 1957), 327*n*.

[6] *Journal of the Senate of the State of Delaware* (Wilmington: 1793), p. 24. The Chester County commissioners were John Fleming, Amos Brinton, and Joseph Gardner.

On the basis of this report and a petition from the " Burgesses of the Borough of Wilmington " favoring the canal, despite petitions to the contrary from New Castle County and Pennsylvania residents, the legislature passed an act of incorporation on June 17, 1793, for a " Company to open a Canal and Lock-Navigation, on the Waters of *Brandywine*." [7] The efforts of the canal sponsors came to naught, however, when sufficient money for the organization of the company, capitalized at $300,000, could not be raised.[8]

Northern Delawareans, with relatively easy access to navigable waters, were content to let the canal project languish, but the vision of a canal paralleling the Brandywine lingered in the minds of Pennsylvanians. In 1820 the Pennsylvania legislature revived its former acts in relation to the waterway, though of course new commissioners, even ones for Delaware, were appointed. James Canby, Thomas Lea, Edward Gilpin, and Victor du Pont, all of New Castle County, were named in the Pennsylvania act of March 28, 1820.[9] When no corresponding action was taken in Delaware, the Pennsylvania legislature instructed Governor Andrew Schulze in 1825 to transmit their law to the governor of Delaware and specifically " invite the adoption of a Similar law " in Delaware.[10] Schulze complied, asking Governor Paynter of Delaware to express to the legislature " the earnest desire which is felt by this state, that Delaware will co-operate with Pennsylvania in the proposed plan of improving and extending the common navigation, trade and commerce of both states." [11]

The Delaware legislature appointed a committee to study the situation. Their official report, received in the Delaware

[7] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware* (Wilmington: 1793), p. 42. A supplement to the act was passed February 8, 1794, in response to the request of New Castle County residents for an alteration in the charter. *Journal of the Senate* (Wilmington: 1794), p. 55. Neither the law nor its supplement was printed in the *Laws of the State of Delaware* (2 vols., New Castle: 1797).

[8] Samuel Hazard, ed., *Register of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: 1828), II, 296; Joseph Stancliffe Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1917), II, 177.

[9] Brandywine Creek Canal Papers (Delaware State Archives).

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] April 13, 1825, Letter Book of the Secretary of the Commonwealth (MS in the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Division of Public Records, Harrisburg).

House of Representatives on January 13, 1826, recommended the abandonment of the project. The committee, in stating their reasons for this recommendation, said:

> The various and valuable manufactories established within this state on the Brandywine creek, constituting a very essential source of its prosperity and wealth, the committee deem it a duty of the legislature to extend to them every advantage which it can do consistently with what it owes to the other great interests of the state, and with its constitutional powers.[12]

They were especially anxious to guard against the adoption of any measure which might prove detrimental to those valuable establishments. Investigation disclosed that the canal from the head of the Brandywine to the Christina was to derive its water exclusively from the former stream. Further inquiry revealed that the manufactories along that stream "require all its water for their own proper purposes; [moreover,] during the summer season, all the water in the stream has for some years past, furnished an inadequate supply for these purposes."[13] The committee concluded, and the house concurred, that it would be "highly inexpedient" to build the canal.

The other canalization project was an attempt to cut a waterway between the Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay. A company was organized for this purpose in 1803, having been jointly authorized by the legislatures of Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania.[14] The canal had long been considered a possibility, but

[12] *Journal of the House* (Dover: 1826), p. 72.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[14] Acts of incorporation were passed in Maryland in 1799; in Delaware and Pennsylvania in 1801. Delaware's and Maryland's acts were conditional; that is, they were inoperative until certain requirements were met by Pennsylvania. See *A Collection of the Laws Relative to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal; Passed by the Legislatures of the States of Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania, Subsequent to the Year 1798* (Philadelphia: 1823), pp. 1, 15, 19, 33-34, 42. Engineers for the canal company were "three of the best these states could furnish." Joshua Gilpin to Paul Beck, Jr., Philadelphia, September 10, 1821, MSS. Correspondence on Internal Improvements, Carey Collection (Library Company of Philadelphia). The famous architect and civil engineer, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, then residing in Delaware, was the chief engineer. He was assisted by Cornelius Howard of Maryland and John Thompson of Pennsylvania. In addition, the vast knowledge of Delawarean Daniel Blaney concerning the local area was utilized by the engineers. For a discussion of the promotion and construction of this waterway, see Ralph D. Gray, "The Early History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal," *Delaware History*, VIII (March, 1959), 207-64; (September, 1959), 354-97; IX (April, 1960), 66-98.

the first serious steps toward making it a reality began with extensive surveys and levels being taken shortly after the company was organized. Actual construction of the waterway began in 1804.

The initial operations of the company, the surveys, purchase of necessary equipment, land and water rights, and the wages of engineers and assistants proved more costly than anticipated. After three years of work and expenditures of over $100,000, only a feeder canal five miles long was nearing completion.[15] The subscribers became apprehensive, refusing to respond to repeated calls for installments on their pledges. When it was realized that a canal investment required several years before dividends were paid, the enthusiasm of the canal proponents was decidedly less boisterous. Unlike banks, moneyed institutions, and private commerce, where returns were immediate and ample, canals repaid their investors slowly and often meagerly.[16] Neither could the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company obtain loans nor legislative aid. Whatever else resulted from the economic sanctions applied by Jefferson in 1807 against the warring European countries, they most assuredly depleted the sources of American capital. This, coupled with the constitutional scruples some congressmen had concerning federal aid to private companies, spelled doom for the canal project. Construction of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was halted before it had really begun.

The company continued in name only, periodically stirring itself sufficiently to keep its corporate existence and to appeal to state and federal legislatures for aid which was not forthcoming at that time. The improvements already made were necessarily neglected and left subject to the damaging effects of weather and disuse. Not until 1821 and the stimulus from New York's great

[15] The feeder canal was to carry a supply of water from Elk River, at the Elk Forge, to the main canal at a point near Glasgow, Delaware. The small feeder canal, when completed, was to be a source of revenue and saving to the company by virtue of its serving as a highway over which to carry lime and stone to be used in building the larger canal. The feeder also was to serve as an outlet to market for the farm produce of Chester and Lancaster counties, Pennsylvania. Joshua Gilpin, *A Memoir on the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, Accompanied with Original Documents and Maps* (Wilmington: 1821), pp. 18-19.

[16] Carter Goodrich, "National Planning of Internal Improvements," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIII (March: 1948), 25.

canal example was the Chesapeake and Delaware project revived, and then by citizens of Philadelphia, particularly Mathew Carey, Paul Beck, Jr., and Delaware-residing Joshua Gilpin. Construction began afresh in 1824 at a new location, under new direction, and on a different, enlarged plan. Innumerable difficulties were encountered and overcome during construction. The waterway was officially opened with an appropriate dedication ceremony on October 17, 1829.[17]

One reason for the attention to the waterways was the poor overland routes. No one has accused the United States of having good roads in 1800. Road-building had been largely neglected in the young nation, particularly in areas where water communication facilities were adequate. This was especially true in Delaware, where the roads evidently merited the unfavorable comments travelers showered upon them. Schoepf in 1784 called the road from Christiana Bridge to Philadelphia "hilly and rocky";[18] a dozen years later a more sweeping condemnation was made: "The roads from Philadelphia to Baltimore exhibit, for the greater part of the way, an aspect of savage desolation. Chasms to the depth of six, eight, or ten feet occur at numerous intervals. . . . Coaches are over-turned, passengers killed and horses destroyed. . . ."[19] Isaac Weld's statements corroborate this report. According to him, while journeying from Philadelphia to Baltimore in 1795, "the driver frequently had to call to the passengers in the stage, to lean out of the carriage first at one side, then at the other, to prevent it from oversetting in the deep ruts with which the road abounds."[20]

Another traveler in America, La Rouchefoucault Liancourt, said Delaware was "distinguished by the bad state of the roads," but added that the rocks which cover the country could easily "be broken into pieces, which would render the roads excellent

[17] See the *General Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company* for the years 1804-06, 1824-29. A nearly complete collection of the yearly reports is in the possession of the Historical Society of Delaware.

[18] Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* [1783-1784], trans. and ed. Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia: 1911), p. 376.

[19] *The Annual American Register* (1797), quoted in Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America* (new ed.; New York: 1937), p. 191.

[20] Isaac Weld, Jun., *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (4th ed.; London: 1807), I, 37-38.

and durable." [21] It was several years before this suggestion was carried out in Delaware in the form of turnpikes.

Failure in the proposed waterway improvements resulted in a concentration of attention and capital on the roads and their improvement. Spurred on by the immediate success of the pioneer Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, completed in 1796, Delaware promoters sponsored numerous turnpike projects. An unsuccessful attempt to connect Wilmington with the lucrative Philadelphia and Lancaster road was made in 1796 by a group of Wilmington men. Seventeen hundred shares, at thirty dollars each, were subscribed to in less than a week (February 15 to 20, 1796) but the enthusiasm of the subscribers went unrewarded. The turnpike company proposed to be formed was not incorporated.[22] A similar project, however, was underway again in 1808, this time under the auspices of the newly organized Newport and Gap Turnpike Company.

The charter of this first successful Delaware turnpike company stipulated that the roadway was not to be over one hundred feet wide, with twenty feet being " an artificial road . . . bedded with wood, stone, gravel, clay, or other proper and convenient materials, well compacted together, a sufficient depth, to secure a solid foundation for the same." The surface was to be faced with clay, gravel, or stone " in such manner, as to secure a firm, and . . . even surface, rising towards the middle by a gradual arch." [23] These requirements were met on four and one-half miles of the road by 1813; the turnpike was put in use over its full length in 1818.

With the Gap Turnpike, the boom was on. Eight other turnpike companies, all with roads to be built in New Castle County, were chartered within seven years. The companies and the years in which they were incorporated are as follows: the Wilmington Turnpike Company, 1808; the New Castle and Frenchtown Turnpike Company, 1809; the New Castle Turnpike Company, 1811; the Kennet Turnpike Company, 1811; the Wilmington

[21] La Rochefoucault Liancourt, *op. cit.*, III, 487-88.

[22] Jacob Broom, a wealthy Wilmington industrialist, was one of the leading sponsors of the projected turnpike. See the subscription book of this company in the manuscripts collection at the Historical Society of Delaware.

[23] *Laws of Delaware*, IV (Wilmington: 1816), Chap. LIX.

and Great Valley Turnpike Company, 1813; the Wilmington and Philadelphia Turnpike Company, 1813; the Elk and Christiana Turnpike Company, 1813; and the Wilmington and Christiana Turnpike Company, 1815.[24] Progress was so rapid that by 1822 John Melish could write that "good turnpike roads have been made from Wilmington in every direction, and a turnpike road has been made from New Castle to Frenchtown."[25]

Delaware's nine turnpikes, totaling in length only about 65 miles, were built at a cost of approximately $200,000.[26] The average cost of just over $3,000 per mile compared favorably with averages in other states, where costs per mile went as high as $15,000. Wilmington was the focal point of the Delaware turnpikes. Only one road leading from Wilmington during the "turnpike era" was not a toll road.[27]

Disenchantment, however, soon came. The realization, gained from experience, that even the best roads afforded inadequate facilities for trade and travel soon tempered the enthusiasm for turnpikes. Water transportation continued to be the main standby. Packet boat operators such as Bush and Warner did a thriving business.[28] The packets were inexpensive to operate, relatively safe, and infinitely more comfortable in good weather than overland vehicles.[29] In addition to the packets, the shallop

[24] *Ibid.*, Chaps. LXIV, LXXXV, CXXXV, CXXXIX, CLI, CCXXXIX; V, Chaps. II, XLV.

[25] *A Geographical Description of the United States* (Philadelphia: 1822), p. 228. Two other turnpike companies were incorporated but were unsuccessful in selling their stock. No improved roads resulted from the incorporation of the "New-Castle and White-Clay-creek hundred Turnpike Company" in 1813, or the Newark and Stanton Turnpike Company in 1816. *Laws of Delaware*, IV, Chap. CCXXXVIII; V, Chap. XCVI.

[26] Federal Writers Project Papers (typescript in the University of Delaware Memorial Library, Newark), XXII, 338.

[27] *Ibid.*, 333. Benjamin Ferris, in writing of Wilmington a few years later, discussed the turnpikes there. "In a few years," he wrote, "almost every highway leading from our city became a turnpike road." *A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware . . . and a History of Wilmington* (Wilmington: 1846), p. 241.

[28] Packet boats were those which ran on a predetermined schedule between the same ports, as opposed to the ordinary vessel whose sailing schedule depended upon the consignment of cargoes. The great importance of the packet to manufacturers is obvious.

[29] Both types of travel had their disadvantages. Stagecoach drivers seemed to enjoy racing as much as drinking, indulging in both to the dire peril of their passengers. Hannah Callender, in a travel diary of 1759, mentioned the sight of "the wrecks of two stages occasioned by [intoxicated] drivers and passengers." George Vaux, ed., "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender," *Pennsylvania Magazine*

trade which linked lower Delaware, Wilmington and Philadelphia was so great and had so many vessels employed in it " that the Delawarean who happened to be in Philadelphia could always stroll down to the wharves with the reasonable hope of seeing a friendly shallopman and hearing news from home." [30]

Another boost to water transportation came with the development of steamboats, which appeared in the Delaware region quite early. Both Fitch and Evans operated successful steam-propelled vessels on the Delaware prior to Fulton's heralded trip on the Hudson in 1807, and reliable commercial steamboating began on the Delaware in 1809. In that year, John Stevens, excluded from the Hudson by the Fulton-Livingston monopoly, sent his steamboat, the " Phoenix," to Philadelphia to begin shuttling between there and Trenton, New Jersey.[31] The lower Delaware had regular steamboat service at an early date also. Beginning with the " Vesta " in 1812, service was quickly expanded by such vessels as the " Delaware " (1814), the " Superior " (1817), and later by the " Wilmington," " Emerald," " New Castle," and " Telegraph." Steamboats were used primarily by passengers; occasionally light freight would be carried, but anything of bulk usually went by sailing vessels. The same was true of the railroad after its introduction into Delaware in 1831. Not until after 1840 did it become important as an industrial carrier.[32] Its primary use until then, as is amply shown by the example of the New Castle and Frenchtown Railroad, was as a passenger vehicle and as a supplement to water

of History and Biography, XII (1888), 437. Elizabeth Montgomery wrote that stage drivers loved to race; " sad bruises, blackeyes, or broken bones " often resulted. *Reminiscences of Wilmington* (Wilmington: 1872), p. 101. Alvin F. Harlow made note of a similar occurrence: " Two four-horse coaches racing into Wilmington, Delaware, locked wheels and had a terrific smash-up in which several were killed and injured." *Old Towpaths: The Story of the American Canal Era* (New York: 1926), p. 79. Water communications could be dangerous in bad weather. Usually the captains would lie to at the river bank and wait out the more severe storms, but some of them prided themselves on their daring. The *Delaware Gazette* for January 23, 1824, describes the accidental death of one such man, Captain Arthur Wells, who " was beating his packet up the Christiana creek against a violent northwest wind, on his passage from Philadelphia." As he attempted to trim his sails, a gust of wind caused them to jerk, throwing the unfortunate captain overboard to his death.

[30] John A. Munroe, *Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815* (New Brunswick: 1954), p. 33.

[31] Carl D. Lane, *American Paddle Steamboats* (New York: 1943), p. 25.

[32] Victor S. Clark, *A History of Manufactures in the United States* (New York: 1929), I, 335. Cf. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

transportation. As late as 1844 the officials of the New Castle and Frenchtown Railroad Company could make the following affadavit: " The great interest for which Rail-roads were constructed, was to carry passengers." [33]

The adaptation to the new means of transportation was immediate for some of the Brandywine manufacturers. Others, notably those in the gunpowder industry, were compelled to rely on the older methods somewhat longer. Freight, whenever possible, was transported by the numerous shallops, sloops, barks, and other craft which filled the waterways of the young republic. Even a circuitous and lengthy all-water route was preferred to the high costs of overland transportation. The costs of land freights, compared to the expenses of water transportation, were excessive at best. Bad roads and, later, high tolls on the improved roads combined to keep the overland freighting costs high.

Industries with either great quantities of bulky raw materials to bring in or heavy goods to ship out were forced to give primary consideration to transportation facilities in determining the location of their plants. All manufactories are dependent upon transportation to some extent, just as they are dependent upon power; in the case of the iron industry, the point is emphasized. Whether the nineteenth century iron works were furnaces, forges, rolling mills, or a combination of them, transportation considerations ranked with the problem of locating sources of raw materials. Iron works could not locate far inland, pay land freights to market, and compete with foreign iron goods. The fact was that the cost of wagon transportation for seventy-five miles was more than twice the amount charged for the carriage of similar commodities across the Atlantic. It was necessary that iron works be located near navigable waters in the earlier period, and near canals or railroads later. The greatly increased price of pig iron in the market " compared to the price at the furnace was due to the high cost of transportation." [34] In 1800, iron carried overland forty miles increased in price from twenty to

[33] Quoted in *Address of the Board of President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, to the Stock and Loanholders of that Company* (Philadelphia: 1845), p. 27.

[34] Arthur Cecil Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg: 1938), p. 177.

forty per cent. As late as 1834, the market for the Brandywine Iron Works was " restricted to within a radius of fifty to seventy-five miles, unless shipments were made by water from Philadelphia, 38 miles away, or from Wilmington . . . 26 miles away." [35]

The overland transportation necessary in operating the various iron works in Delaware and the Brandywine Valley was accomplished by wagon and draft animals, either horses, mules, or oxen. In 1836, when the Mary Ann Furnace sent the Mary Ann Forge 135 tons of " Pigmetal," it was transported by ox teams belonging to the forge, mule teams owned by the furnace, and independently owned oxen.[36] This was a major hauling job. Individual teams pulled wagonloads of one to two tons, depending upon the condition of the roads.

All of the Brandywine Valley iron works, with one notable exception, were still using animals in 1850.[37] By then the railroad had solved most of their transportation problems, but the task of getting the commodities to the rail depot for shipment remained. There seemed to be a direct relationship between the number of animals kept by an iron manufactory and its distance from the railroad. For example, the only furnace in the area, located farther from the railroad than any other iron works, kept forty-five draft animals.[38] Three forges, nearer to a railhead, used ten, twelve, and eighteen animals.[39] The rolling mill closest to the railroad had no animals; the one farthest from it had fourteen.[40]

The Delaware Iron Works, located not on the Brandywine but on Red Clay Creek, did not need numerous animals for hauling long distances since the " short distance of this valuable property from Wilmington and Newport affords to the occupier all the advantages of the Philadelphia market at a trifling ex-

[35] Robert W. Wolcott, *A Woman in Steel: Rebecca Lukens* (New York: 1948), p. 17.

[36] Mary Ann Furnace, Blast Book, Pig Book, 1836-37 (MSS Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).

[37] *Documents Relating to the Manufacture of Iron in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: 1850), Tables IV, V, and VI, n. p.

[38] *Ibid.*, Table IV. [39] *Ibid.*, Table V. [40] *Ibid.*, Table VI.

pense." [41] If water transportation facilities were lacking or some distance from an establishment, however, roads became items of importance. Their general wretchedness in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century compounded the transportation difficulties. One of the first actions of the Laverty brothers after they built their Laurel Forge on the upper Brandywine in the 1790's was to petition the county for a road, stating that they labored " under great disadvantages for want of Roads to and from said Forge." [42] Two years later the appeal was repeated. It is entirely possible that this road, even after being approved by the county, was built by Laurel Forge employees. Several companies had their men either build or repair the county roads.

A second type of industry on the Brandywine, one of a different nature, was a tanning venture undertaken at Hagley from 1815 until 1826.[43] Not only was the product different, but the proximity of the tannery to the Wilmington port simplified its transportation problems somewhat. The basic necessities for a successful tannery include an adequate supply of water, a quantity of tan bark, and the hides or skins to be processed. Usually the latter two commodities had to be shipped in, and the leather products had to be sent to market. The Hagley tannery, operating under the name of A. Cardon and Company, both received and dispatched its goods by shallop or occasionally by wagon. A year after the tannery began operation, Cardon wrote to a Philadelphia merchant that " a waggoner of Wilmington . . . will [come] to Philada. one day of this week and take the calfskins you have. . . ." [44] The wagoner was employed during the winter while river navigation was closed, for normally the

[41] *Delaware Free Press* (Wilmington), December 3, 1831. The McLane Report of 1832 records that this iron works employed seven horses, and that almost all of the product was sent to Philadelphia to be sold. *Documents Relative to the Manufactures in the United States* (Executive Documents, 22nd Congress; 2nd Session, No. 308; Washington: 1833), II, 813.

[42] Original Road Petitions, XXIII, 1793-95 (Chester County Court House, West Chester, Pennsylvania).

[43] See Peter C. Welsh's study of this company, " A. Cardon and Company, Brandywine Tanners, 1815-1826, with Notes on the Early History of Tanning in Delaware," *Delaware History*, VIII (September, 1958), 121-47.

[44] A. Cardon (Wilmington) to George Flomerfelt (Philadelphia), February 26, 1817, A. Cardon and Company Letter Book, 1816-1827 (Old Stone Office Records, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Wilmington, Delaware).

bark, hides, and leather were carried by water. Much of the bark used in the Brandywine tannery came from southern Delaware. Some difficulty was experienced in arranging transportation to and from that area since none of the Wilmington or Philadelphia shippers were " acquainted with the Creeks " in Kent and Sussex counties.[45] Cardon attempted to solve this problem by suggesting that the supplier of the bark could easily find a shallopman in southern Delaware, one who would be familiar with the geography of the area and whose rates would be reasonable.

Warner's sloop " Fame " was a frequent carrier of hides, skins, and leather between Philadelphia and Wilmington. The boats operated by Samuel Bush also carried articles for the tannery. The possible unpleasantness of carrying animal hides was lessened by packing them in hogsheads. This was economically feasible, as the tanner Cardon explained, because " the owner of this packet [" Fame "] being our particular friend, he will not charge us anything to bring the empty hhds. back to Philadelphia." [46] Hides came from as far away as South America via Baltimore and New York, again by water. Schooners from New York would carry the hides to Philadelphia, where they would be transshipped to Wilmington packets.[47] Hides from the Baltimore area were brought by packets to Frenchtown or Elkton at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. They would be hauled overland the remaining distance. The customary rate varied from three cents to five cents per hide from New York or Baltimore, although once the " exorbitant freight of 8 Cts pr hide " was charged, making it, said Cardon, " much cheaper for us in future time to have our leather to, & our Hides from Baltimore carried round by Sea." [48]

The paper industry, which became extensive along the Brandywine in the nineteenth century, used similar methods of transportation. Power, raw materials, and easy transportation facilities were the major attractions of the Brandywine for paper and other type mills. The product of Delaware's paper mills

[45] Same to Isaac Robertson (Georgetown), May 4, 1818.
[46] Same to George Flomerfelt (Philadelphia), March 10, 1817.
[47] Same to William Warner and Son (Philadelphia), January 7, 1821.
[48] Same to Bradford and Cooch (Baltimore), December 29, 1819.

was carted to Wilmington and then shipped by boat to its destination.[49] The raw materials, primarily rags, were shipped to the paper mills. La Rochefoucault Liancourt wrote in 1797 that rags for the now famous Gilpin mill "are bought up by agents in the most populous towns, as far as three hundred miles distant, and are sent by water to Wilmington; from whence they are brought in carts to the mill." [50] That this was no insignificant matter is seen by the fact that 100,000 pounds of rags were used per year by the Gilpins. Their annual output was 1,000 reams of paper.[51] Some of the smaller mills carted their products to Philadelphia and sold them in the streets. There is no specific reference, either in relation to the tannery or the paper mills, that other than sailing vessels were used in the river trade. When rapidity of transit was not essential, the more economical sloops and shallops were used in preference to steamboats.

Wilmington's largest industry, the one which once made it the flour milling center of America, also used water transportation. The main difference was that the Brandywine flour millers frequently owned their own vessels since their mills were on the tidewater. This advantageous and enviable location solved the major transportation problems of the millers, and was a primary factor in their prominence.[52] In 1814, the famed Brandywine millers "owned nine sloops of from forty to sixty tons, and used them in shipping flour to Philadelphia and elsewhere." [53] These mills were so located that sloops loaded with grain could sail up to the mills to be unloaded. Much of the grain converted in these mills was brought in from the interior of Pennsylvania in huge Conestoga wagons. As many as thirty of these wagons at a time would be at the Lea mills waiting to discharge their cargoes. Grain from further afield was brought in by sloop. Wheat fields in Virginia, Maryland, and New York

[49] *Documents Relative to the Manufactures in the United States* (*The McLane Report*), II, 816-17.

[50] La Rochefoucault Liancourt, *op. cit.*, III, 506.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] This story is more completely delineated in an article by Peter C. Welsh, "The Brandywine Mills: A Chronicle of an Industry, 1762-1816," *Delaware History*, VII (March, 1956), 17-36.

[53] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware, 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: 1888), II, 751.

supplied the Brandywine mills. Some of the mechanics of the operation of shipping the wheat to the mills are indicated in a letter by Samuel Canby. He wrote a supplier to purchase only the best quality wheat for them, because there is " neither pleasure nor profit in the other. As Soon as 1000 to 1200 Bushels is in we will Send our vessells over." [54]

There was another Brandywine industry whose transportation problems were unique. This was the gunpowder industry, established on the Brandywine in 1802 by E. I. du Pont. Poor transportation facilities had kept the gunpowder industry small and localized before the transportation improvements of the early nineteenth century.[55] Manufactories had to locate in places where there was a demand—prohibitive transportation costs prevented the shipment of the product long distances.

Water transportation was used to ship Du Pont powder to all the coast cities during the early nineteenth century. A temporary interruption of this water commerce occurred during the War of 1812, at which time freighting by wagon predominated. As improved communication systems were completed, they were utilized if possible. The Pennsylvania canal works replaced the wagon trains to Pittsburgh and the West in the months that the canal was open. Freighting by wagon was utilized during the winter, although then the rates were exceptionally high.

It was not the facilities used in transporting gunpowder but rather the difficulties attendant to using these facilities which distinguished that industry. Storage of the product at wharves was a problem, for this was prohibited in many cities. Not only storage but even loading or landing the powder at wharves was illegal in some places. As E. I. du Pont explained in 1823, a vessel had to stop " at the old ferry, half mile below Wilmington, in order to discharge the powder, as no vessel with powder on board is Suffered to come to the wharfs in town." [56]

[54] Samuel Canby to V. English, April 30, 1816, Samuel Canby and Son Letter Book, 1816-1817 (MSS Collection, Historical Society of Delaware).

[55] Arlan K. Gilbert, Gunpowder Production in the Middle Atlantic States: A Hazardous Industry, 1783-1833 (unpublished master's thesis at the University of Delaware, 1957), pp. 1-2.

[56] E. I. du Pont to E. Copeland, Jr. (Boston), September 7, 1823, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company Letter Books (Old Stone Office Records, Eleutherian Mills

In addition to official regulations hampering the shipment of powder, personal fears on the part of the captain, crew, or ship passengers increased the difficulty. A New Orleans agent was told in 1839 that " owing to the fear of lightening [*sic*] we have not yet been able to find a vessel willing to take powder." [57] A second southern powder agent had to be informed of an unavoidable delay in receiving his powder:

We had hoped to forward you [a] bill of lading for a shipment of Gunpowder, having engaged freight for the same by the Schooner John McClung to sail in a few days, but we have received a letter stating, that as the passengers had preemptorily refused to go in her if she carried powder, the shippers could not comply with the agreement.[58]

In some case duplicity was engaged in by shipowners to mislead not only the passengers but also the crew about the nature of the cargo. A letter to the Du Pont Company in 1828 from their Philadelphia agent reveals this. A Mr. Seisse insisted on having powder delivered to his vessel, despite the extra effort and expense it entailed, so that he could conceal the loading operations:

The reasons he gave for wishing it to be put on board are, first, that he does not wish the sailors to know that the vessel is loaded with munitions of war, of which her cargo is nearly made up, as he does not mean to send them down to the vessel till the powder is all on board; secondly, that he is to receive the powder he has bought from Rogers & Lowber there and wishes to put yours with it, and can send down some flour from the City to fill up the hatchway and have it caulked down, & thirdly that a Spanish Gentleman who goes out in the Brig is desirous of having this plan followed.[59]

In other cases the duplicity was perpetrated by the powder

Historical Library, Wilmington, Delaware). Subsequently these books will be cited as L. B. The borough of Wilmington passed such an ordinance on August 31, 1805. Proceedings of the Burgesses of the Borough of Wilmington, Ordinances, Minutes, 1739-1817 (MSS Collection, Historical Society of Delaware). It is perhaps significant that this occurred in the year following that which marked Du Pont's first production of gunpowder.

[57] E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company to George P. Bowers (New Orleans), July 14, 1839, L. B.

[58] Same to G. W. Ward (Matagorda, Texas), November 1, 1838.

[59] F. G. Smith to E. I. du Pont, Philadelphia, November 26, 1828 (Old Stone Office Records, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library).

company. In the early years of the company's existence, Philadelphia was the nearest large port; its possibilities for vessels to various east coast cities was considerably greater than Wilmington's. Since Philadelphia law prohibited the entry of more than six kegs of powder into the city at one time, the contents of a few early shipments had to be disguised.[60] A similar law existed in New York. Such letters as the following, therefore, were not uncommon in the first years of the company's activity: " Having been obliged to send you the powder through new york for the want of a direct opportunity we have been forced to ship it in boxes under the name of drygoods and glasses please to claim them such." [61] Another letter mentioned a shipment of " drygoods which are by nature so dry that if they were discovered they would cause you much embarrassment and consequently would prevent us from sending you any merchandise of this nature in the same way." [62]

The secrecy attempted made the transportation costs higher, because the kegs of powder had to be packed in boxes. Nevertheless, the company preferred these expenses to the " encumbrances attending the shippment [*sic*] of our powder at Philada." [63] Some additional expense was incurred by the necessary practice of having the powder loaded away from the wharf. Captains were informed that " the powder will be in a shallop at the mouth of the Christiana creek waiting " for them.[64] This expense became exorbitant if the scheduled rendezvous were delayed. Since the mails provided the ordinary means of communicating and synchronizing the departure of vessels with the dispatch of powder from the mills, it is understandable that delays occurred. Some were prolonged, however; one letter complained about an agent " ordering the powder to be 12 days too soon at Newcastle," and requested that he " drop us a line by the mail of the moment the vessel go positively down so we may not send before hand." [65] The additional expense resulting from

[60] E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company to Gregory Burr and Company (Columbus), July 17, 1839, L. B.

[61] E. I. du Pont to John L. Sullivan (Boston), December 27, 1805, L. B.

[62] Same to Anthony Girard (New York), December 20, 1805.

[63] Same to T. D. P. Dowes (Albany), July 2, 1806.

[64] Same to Moody, Wyman, and Company (Philadelphia), August 16, 1821.

[65] Same to Archibald McCall (Philadelphia), May 17, 1806.

the non-arrival of sailing vessels was sometimes shared by the company and the shipowner. When four wagons were delayed a full day, at $4.00 per day each, the company was " very willing to bear one half of this expense, & charge only $8. for the detention of our teams." The fact that the freight by the delayed schooner was " very moderate " helped prompt this offer.[66]

Getting vessels for a desired port was a recurrent problem which must have faced all merchants before packet boats lost their purely local character. In 1805 Du Pont shipped powder destined for Providence and Newport to their agent in New York because " your opportunities for these two ports are ten to one for us." [67] The product also was shipped to Philadelphia for transshipment; later, however, the Philadelphia ships would stop at the mouth of the Christina to take on powder.

The weather and the state of the river increased the hazard and cost of shipping powder. In 1806 a small " oister boat " chartered to carry powder to Philadelphia " would have started . . . but being aground at our warf [*sic*] and the flood having been very low it has not been possible to start it." [68] Ice sometimes prevented delivery also. In January of 1822, a schooner from Philadelphia was able to navigate the Delaware but became stuck in the ice of the Christina. Several days were required to cut through the ice and get the vessel to port. The powder company sent a number of its workers to help the captain. E. I. du Pont reported:

> They are coming up very well and we expect that by tomorrow night they will be able to reach the wharf. is not the expense of the hands cutting the ice to be charged to the insurance company? as they had charged ½ per cent extra for the distance from Newcastle to Wilmington.[69]

On at least one occasion the sinking of a barge at the wharf delayed a shipment of powder.[70]

[66] E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company to F. G. Smith (Philadelphia), October 13, 1838, L. B.

[67] E. I. du Pont to Anthony Girard (New York), December 20, 1805, L. B.

[68] Same to Capt. Irwin, Superintendent of the Military Store (Philadelphia), April 10, 1806.

[69] Same to John Vaughn (Philadelphia), January 8, 1822.

[70] E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company to William Kemble (New York), September 29, 1838, L. B.

The price paid for freight by the gunpowder company was sometimes higher than prices paid by other companies on their merchandise. The shippers felt this increase in rates was justified "considering the detention which carrying Powder occasions, & the risk & prejudice of people against carrying Powder." [71] What was not justified was the alteration of freight rates without consent. Upon detecting this by a captain in 1821, the Du Pont Company hurried to notify their agent at the destination point who was to make payment: "We suppose that he will not insist on this augmentation made without our consent, but if he was [*sic*] we will thank you to inform him that it would be the last freight he would get from us." [72] Payment of the freight charges at the point of destination assured safe delivery of the goods. In 1839 the company instructed their Charleston, South Carolina, agents in paying the freight to "retain the price of one keg of powder, damaged on board the vessel as this accident happened through the carelessness of the crew of the vessel, and the captain must be responsible." [73]

To facilitate transportation, avoid the restrictions of city storage laws, and lessen costs, the Du Pont Company erected three piers on the Delaware River about three miles above Wilmington in 1839.[74] The strategic value of the piers is indicated in a letter to F. G. Smith:

> Please engage freight by the first opportunity for 700 kegs to New York; we paid last year at the rate of 8 cents per keg, taken from the old ferry, in Christiana Creek, we will give the same, or seven cents taken from our piers. The navigation up and down the Christiana will take one day more than if the vessel stops at the piers.[75]

The transportation of powder by wagon supplemented water shipments. Some areas were inaccessible by water, making over-

[71] George Bird to E. I. du Pont, Philadelphia, April 10, 1821 (Old Stone Office Collection, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library).

[72] E. I. du Pont to Charles H. West (Charleston, S. Car.), October 16, 1821, L. B.

[73] E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company to Pitray, Viel, and Company (Charleston), June 20, 1839, L. B.

[74] Same to David S. Brown (Philadelphia), February 3, 1840. Contemplated also were the erection of warehouses and the extension of the harbor to make an all-weather, convenient port on the Delaware. Rail connections with Philadelphia and Wilmington already existed.

[75] Same to F. G. Smith (Philadelphia), April 5, 1840.

land hauling necessary. Wagons also were used to connect waterways and to do freighting when rivers and canals were frozen. Of course wagons were necessary to take the product from the mills to the wharf at all times. In the early years of the company's existence, the Du Pont's had one wagoner in their employ for local hauling.[76] Most of the long distance hauling in those early years was done by men outside of the company. An Elkton man, William C. Hull, carried powder for the company for years. Going as far north as Boston or as far south as Washington, Hull wrote in 1814 that " Hauling is very good here, five Horse teams are making $10 per Day—& four Horse teams seven and a half Dollars, I should not be able to go to Baltimore under two and a quarter Dolls. per 100." [77]

The price paid wagoners varied greatly with the road conditions and the seasons. In the winter, with the demand for teams high, exorbitant wagoning rates could be charged. An average cost of freight to Pittsburgh in the 1830's was $2.00 per hundredweight, but in the winter of 1839 it was " impossible to procure waggons even at the outrageous rate of four dollars per hundred." [78] Whenever possible, turnpike tolls were avoided in order to keep the freighting charges down. Only in bad weather were the turnpikes considered advantageous. According to E. I. du Pont, writing in the spring of 1822, " at this time the roads are so fine that it will be much to the advantage of the waggoner to save the toll on the turnpike." [79] But often, as in times of thawing, for example, the roads would become virtually impassable. Water transportation was used as soon as possible in the spring. In January of 1839, the Du Pont Company asked if the present mild weather enabled the Elk packet to run: " If so it would be best to take advantage of it, for sending by land is costly & moreover the roads are getting bad." [80]

[76] In 1806 the wagoner's salary amounted to $216; that year the company's four horses ate $284 worth of hay and oats. " Statement of Expenditure of the Manufacture," Bessie G. du Pont, ed., *Life of Eleuthère Irénée du Pont from Contemporary Correspondence* (Newark: 1925), VII, 281.

[77] W. C. Hull to E. I. du Pont, Elkton, October 20, 1814 (Old Stone Office Records, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library).

[78] E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company to L. Mosby (Cincinnati), March 12, 1839, L. B.

[79] Du Pont to Thomas Harper (Philadelphia), April 2, 1822, L. B.

[80] E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company to Z. H. Cooch (Baltimore), January 14, 1839, L. B.

After the extensive state canal works in Pennsylvania were completed, Du Pont used them to transport powder to Pittsburgh and other western cities. The lower price was the determining factor. The company wrote a customer in 1839 that his order would be forwarded " on the opening of the canal. . . . Waggons are scarce and carriage so high . . . that it is out of the question to send powder via Pittsburg before the opening of the Canals." [81] Each year the time when the water would again be let into the canals was eagerly awaited. Likewise, the company wanted the canals left open as late as possible each year. On occasions shipments would be frozen in the canal. In 1838 the Du Ponts inquired about the steps being taken to forward their immobilized product by wagon.[82] In spite of the low canal rates, shipping by river and sea remained in competition. " We find that even in summer when powder is carried via Canal to Pittsburg at $1.50 per hundred," wrote du Pont in 1839, " we can send to St. Louis, via New Orleans on far better terms than by Pittsburg." The difference in favor of the longer journey would have been even greater but for magazine charges at New Orleans of twelve and one-half cents per month per keg of twenty-five pounds.[83]

The Du Pont Company's attempts to use the new and faster rail transportation proved largely unsuccessful at first. From the later 1830's on, the railroads offered fast and direct service to an ever-increasing number of places, but they showed a general reluctance to carry gunpowder. Attempts to prevail upon railroad agents to accept powder by showing them " how securely the kegs will be packed in a box " [84] generally failed. Even unlabeled boxes suspected of containing the explosive were refused. No railroad accidents caused by carrying gunpowder are known which could have accounted for this hesitancy.[85] Never-

[81] Same to P. E. Blow (St. Louis), February 25, 1839.

[82] Same to F. G. Smith (Philadelphia), December 24, 1838.

[83] Same to William Kemble (New York), October 26, 1839.

[84] Same to Capt. G. D. Ramsay (Frankford), October 19, 1838.

[85] It is now known that concussion or shock will not normally detonate black powder, which " is practically insensitive to percussion [although] it is easily exploded by the agency of a flame, whereas with the organic nitrates the exact opposite holds true." Leroy R. Carl, " The Breaking Theory of Detonation," *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, CCXXX (July, 1940), 76*n*.

theless, this type of transportation for gunpowder was used but sparingly throughout most of the nineteenth century.

By 1840 the country had completed one phase of a transportation revolution and was on the eve of another. The turnpikes and canals made the inland resources of the eastern half of the United States accessible. Raw materials could be assembled economically for manufacturing. Transportation costs were down fifty per cent from what they had been twenty years earlier. Accompanying this change were improvements in communications, which permitted businesses to be conducted on a larger scale.[86] Reliance was still placed on water transportation but the railroad era was about to begin. Railroads rather than turnpikes were to provide the major competition for canals. The inherent inadequacy of turnpikes was realized before they were supplanted by railroads.

The transportation improvements of the early nineteenth century had a bad as well as a good effect on Brandywine industries. At first, they could do nothing but speed goods to market, cheapen costs, and enhance the area. The natural advantages of New Castle and Chester counties were utilized more fully with improved transportation. However, other areas formerly unsuitable as manufacturing sites because of a lack of outlets to market lost that limitation. Competition from new manufacturing regions began; the use of steam power made the Brandywine's unfailing water power less important. The railroad and its rapid extension completed the steps freeing industrial growth from many of the natural limitations. This process had just begun in 1840; it is still going on. The Brandywine area, in its variety, remains as a good cross-sectional area of America in which to study the process.

[86] Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 351.

A Delawarean's View of Russia in 1816

By Stanley J. Zyzniewski *

AMERICANS in Russia were highly uncommon during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Beyond those engaged in diplomatic representations, few had the interest or occasion to visit and live in that country for any length of time. Consequently, while foreign accounts of Russian life in this period are fairly numerous, relatively few American commentaries exist. Among the few preserved is the letter of a young merchant who mastered the language and spent about ten of his earlier years among the Russians.

This energetic native of Delaware cultivated numerous friendships during his residence in Russia. His commercial background and business interests did not inhibit him from taking active interest in Russian literary affairs. Gregarious and apparently amiable, he was on friendly terms with such prominent figures as Count Nesselrode, the foreign minister, and Nicholas Gretch, an influential editor who introduced him to the literary group which met periodically in the salon of the noted poet Derzhavin. Broad contacts and a vigorous curiosity obviously presented him with opportunities to observe Russian conditions and customs which ordinarily lay beyond the purview of diplomats residing for the most part in the capital.

William David Lewis was born at Christiana, in New Castle county, Delaware on September 22, 1792. Both his father, Joel, and mother (nèe Hughes) were Welsh Quakers.[1] Following an education at Clermont Seminary and the Lower Dublin Academy, Lewis entered into a career marked by adventure, business

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[1] Data and other information about Lewis' life and activities have been culled from Allen Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1928), I, 85; Dumas Malone, ed., *Ibid.* (New York: 1933), XI, 226-27; J. G. Wilson and J. Fiske, eds., *Appleton Encyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: 1888), III, 707; E. Dronnan, ed., "Papers of James A. Bayard, 1796-1815," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1913* (Washington: 1915), II, 284-85.

success, public service and some literary distinction. At 17, he was apprenticed to a Philadelphia firm of merchants engaged in Far Eastern trade. Four years later, however, an older brother then active as a merchant in St. Petersburg, Russia invited the younger Lewis to join him.

Normal passage to Russia being impossible at this time because of continuing Anglo-American hostilities, Lewis traveled to Washington and there contacted Henry Clay, recently designated as a member of the American peace commission about to sail for negotiations with the British. Clay, whose friendship for Lewis was apparent in later years as well, secured for Lewis an appointment as a private secretary to the commission. The group then sailed from New York City aboard the corvette John Adams on February 27, 1814, arriving at Gothenburg, Sweden on April 13.

Taking leave of the commission at this Swedish port, the "amiable and obliging"[2] Lewis was entrusted with dispatches to the then American minister in St. Petersburg, John Quincy Adams, who was about to leave Russia to join in the negotiations with the British. Lewis' arrival in the Russian capital occurred when news of Napoleon's defeat created considerable excitement. He spent several months studying the Russian language before actively engaging in mercantile affairs. Lewis' residence in Russia lasted to August, 1824, punctuated by two extended visits to the United States. For the most part, he was one of only nine or ten Americans in that country.

As early as July, 1817 a personal quarrel in St. Petersburg was to involve Lewis in years-long litigation. Reportedly, he had tweaked the nose of the U. S. Consul, John Leavitt Harris, and was temporarily imprisoned by tsarist authorities at Harris' request. Although Lewis was released upon the protest of the American minister Pinckney, bad feeling between the two was carried over to the United States. In November, 1819, while visiting this country, Lewis accepted Harris' challenge to a duel at Red Bank, N. J., wounding his antagonist in the thigh.[3] This

[2] E. Dronnan, *op. cit.*, II, 284.

[3] This duel appears to have been witnessed by a Captain Robinson on board his sloop off the shores of Red Bank. Cf. *American Watchman*, Wednesday, Nov. 17, 1819, p. 3; *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1819, p. 3.

Lewis-Harris animus was soon compounded when Leavitt Harris, an uncle and also one-time consul in St. Petersburg whom Lewis had accused of corruption, initiated a suit for slander.

Seven years of litigation followed, during which time both Lewis and the elder Harris returned to Russia to gather evidence. After the court had involved such prominent witnesses as Munroe and John Quincy Adams, a Philadelphia jury awarded damages of $100 to Harris, in February, 1827. This verdict notwithstanding, available commentary indicates that contemporaries of the two Harrises regarded them to be somewhat unprincipled in their efforts to charge to public costs various, questionable expenses while in office.

Following his permanent return to the United States, Lewis became prominent in mercantile and financial circles of Philadelphia. He married Sarah Claypoole of that city in June, 1825, and in 1852 was appointed the cashier of the Girard Bank, a post he held for a decade. His financial activities included the backing of various railroads, among them the New Castle-Frenchtown line. He also served as president of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

William Lewis apparently maintained his interest in Russian literature during these years. In 1849 his metrical translation of an anthology of Russian poems—*Bokchisarian Fountain by Alexander Pooshkeen and Other Poems by Various Authors*—was published and subsequently greeted enthusiastically in Russia by his old acquaintance and editor of the conservative *Northern Bee*, Gretch.

The lifelong friendship with Henry Clay was again manifested in 1849 when, despite the protest of Senator Cooper of Pennsylvania, Clay steered the Senate's confirmation of Lewis as the Collector of Customs for Philadelphia, a term that expired in 1853. Retiring from active business in 1855, Lewis settled on an estate near Florence, New Jersey, where he died some twenty-six years later, on April 1, 1881.

The amusing and sometimes cogent observations on Russian society penned by Lewis are contained in a letter to Edward Coles, while the latter was in St. Petersburg and had met the young Delawarean there. Coles had been sent to Russia as

President Madison's personal envoy during the summer of 1816 in order to resolve a diplomatic misunderstanding that had arisen between the two countries. Arriving in early October, Coles' mission kept him for more than two months before its successful completion and his return to the United States.[4] The letter is now preserved in the Edward Coles collection deposited with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Lewis letter on Russian mores, attitudes and values cannot be described as a highly scholarly analysis.[5] He makes no effort to analyze institutions but rather focuses on what he regards to be the style of life among various Russian classes, particularly those aspects he views as being strikingly peculiar. Some of his observations seem to be flavored with supercilious sanctimoniousness, fostered perhaps by his awareness of the receiver's prominence. Nonetheless, despite occasional penchant for frivolous generalities and platitudes, Lewis' letter remains an interesting example of what reactions are experienced by a young American of that day living in a cultural milieu markedly different from what he experienced in the United States. Moreover, his generally entertaining observations occasionally shed some light upon some of the common practices and attitudes of Russians in different classes of early nineteenth-century Russia.

[4] I am grateful to Professor James Hopkins of the University of Kentucky for drawing my attention to an 1816 letter of Lewis to Clay (to appear in the forthcoming volume by Prof. Hopkins and Mrs. W. M. Hargreaves, eds., *The Rising Statesman, 1815-20*, Vol. II of *The Papers of Henry Clay* (University of Kentucky Press: 1961), and to some observations of John Q. Adams regarding the Harrises. The events leading up to Coles' mission are summarized in J. C. Hildt, *Early Diplomatic Negotiations of the United States with Russia* (Baltimore: 1906). Coles' biography is in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 296, and his abolitionist views have recently been examined by R. L. Ketcham in the *Virginia Quarterly*, XXXVI, No. 1 (Winter, 1960).

[5] Grateful acknowledgment is given to R. N. Williams II, Director of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for permission to publish this letter, and to Paul Rosenberg for bringing the Coles papers to my attention.

St. Petersburg. October 7th, 1816

E. Coles Esqr.

Dear Sir:

Herewith I hand you the observations on the Customs and of the Russians, which I promised you the other day: their only Recommendation is their truth. I have sent Copies of them to several of my friends in America, you must not therefore be surprised if you should ever meet with them in other hands.

Observations.

The Peasants of Russia are in a state of slavery much the same as the Blacks in the southern parts of America, though held by individuals in infinitely greater numbers. There are some noblemen who own 20, 30, 40, 50, and one or two even as many as 100, thousand Males. These poor people are obliged to work their Masters' lands and pay them a Tax amounting annually to from 20 to 30 Rubles per soul; from this tax the women are exempted, though not from the share of labour. The Peasants generally work as much land for themselves as their Lord, it being understood that half their time belongs to themselves; it is by the product of this portion of their time that they are enabled to raise the tax in money, besides which their Masters never refuse them the privilege of leaving their Estates in the winter to go in search of Employment, a sufficient number remaining at home to do the little that is to be done there in that dreary and inactive season. Their employment mostly consists in transporting Merchandize from City to City, or in performing in the towns the duties of *Izvoshtshicks* or Drivers, each Peasant who can afford it generally taking with him a little sledge (called in America Sled, which word is hooted at by the *learned Europeans*!) and horse: at that season there are so many of them in the streets that a person may ride about for the merest trifle.

The Condition of a Russian Peasant is by no means so miserable [6] as would appear at first sight: their houses are of log substantially & comfortably built, and they always live together in villages some of which are very large; the gable ends of their houses universally front the street, which renders them, it is said, much warmer than if built in the mode practiced by us, a less portion of them being exposed to the weather, for they with their appendages, say [i. e.] low houses, extend a considerable distance back, and usually stand together very compactly.

[6] Coles himself compared Russian serfdom to American slavery as "an essentially different form of servitude to that of our Negroes, & infinitely of a milder and less oppressive character. . . ." Ketcham, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

The general food of the Peasantry is simple to be sure, but they have enough of it, and are not less healthy than those who feast on delicacies. It consists of very black Ryebread (This is the favorite Bread of the nobility also, though both wheat and Rye are mostly met with at their tables.) and salt, the bread being sour, but not ill flavored. Carrots, Turnips, Parsnips, Beans, Peas, Onions, and most other vegetables they eat raw; their drink is an acid and to me most nauseous liquor made of grain (mostly of rye or barley) and called Quass, or more properly Kvass, but it is healthy and drunk by the Russians of all classes & both sexes in no small quantities. They have a Brandy, too, distilled from Grain, which the lower orders drink to great excess, being almost universally drunkards. They are goodnatured however, and may in a general way be bribed to do anything, but they are naturally very knavish and tricky. Their state is about demi-barbarous, yet they possess a wonderful degree of innate politeness and grace, so that the lowest boor will talk to his master with all the ease and fluency of an equal, never however forgetting for a moment his respect and obedience. Their eloquence is proverbial among the foreigners resident here and the grammatical propriety with which they speak their native language is a subject of wonder to all who are acquainted with it, even to the higher classes of their own countrymen. Their dress consists of a long woolen Coat called in Russian Kaftan, reaching nearly down to their heels and covering their pantaloons entirely; this they tie around their waists with a worsted sash; their hats are broad brimmed and bell-crowned, but in winter they mostly wear Caps lined with some cheap fur; the better kind of them have leather boots, but a vast number of them wear basketwrought shoes of birch bark, and wrap rags around their legs to serve instead of stockings. The Kaftan properly speaking is worn only *in common* by the richer Peasants, or put on as a Dress, the usual garb in the villages being a sheep skin made up in the shape of the Kaftan, which they call a shoob or *tvoloos,* and which they wear alike the hottest day in summer and the coldest in winter. The Russians in general (i. e., the lower classes still, say Peasants and Merchants) wear their beards long from a religious superstition; this they adhere to strictly, and if they are asked the reason their answer is, " God commands us."

The Women of the Country are generally ugly, particularly among the Peasantry, who are extremely dirty and slovenly about their persons. Their features bear throughout a striking resemblance, being of the Tartar cast. Almost all the Russian women have little sunken eyes, pug noses, and high cheekbones, faces devoid of expression, or if professing any, it being rather of the disagreeable kind. In going Southwesterly however, their features improve, in Mosco many of the Merchants'

Daughters are quite handsome, and in Toola and Catorga [*sic*] comeliness is more frequently met with than in Mosco: St. Petersburg has less claim as to the beauty of its women than any town I have yet seen either in Russia or elsewhere. The married Ladies among the Nobility are very familiar, and easy in their manners, but the Merchants, being universally of low extraction and badly educated, keep their wives and daughters under as much restraints as the husbands and fathers of eastern countries. The daughter of a Russian Merchant being consequently altogether unaccustomed to the company or conversation of young men, feels excessively awkward and confused if by any chance she finds herself in their society, and is sure to get out of it as fast as she can. In Mosco, where everything is more national than in St. Petersburg, on their meeting a stranger, being ashamed to look him in the face, they make a low inclination of the head, so that I felt not a little pleased on my arrival there, to find myself so often saluted with such respect by fair creatures whom I had never before seen in my life. I returned however their *Zdrastvouitee* (how d'ye do?) with the best air I could, hoping by that means to get into their good graces and fancying that a thousand happy adventures and fortunate intrigues must be the inevitable result of such a kind and flattering predeliction as they all appeared to express in my favor!

"Vain hopes oft youthful fancies blind
And make a *nincom.* of the mind.
By visions fair and pictures gay
The happy youth they lead astray.
With bright ideas his head they fill
And give him pleasure's cup to swill.
Yet ever whilst with raptured brain
Anxious the honied dream to train,
Ere he in guzzling of the draught
Has one good swallow fairly, quaff'd.
Fortune gives the goblet a tilt
And all the precious juice is spilt!"

The Journey, on a Tour in the South.

The ladies have a most unaccountable practice of rubbing their teeth with some vile composition which takes off the enamel and makes them black as coal; this is considered by many of them as a beauty, so that I have sometimes seen girls of 16 or 17, of no common comliness for this northern region, display on opening their lips a row of teeth so black and hideous as to shock me. The custom of blackening their teeth thus some Travellers have represented as universal among the women of this

Country, this like many others of their assertions is untrue; the most that can be said of it is that it is not very uncommon, it is not however by any means general. The strict manner in which this class of women is brought up may be imagined when I state that a particular friend of mine, a German Gentleman of undoubted veracity, who had lived a long time in Mosco, assured me that in one instance he had been very intimate in the house of a Russian Merchant for several years and never knew he had a daughter till he at length espied her one day by accident, peeping at him through the crevice of the door. The young lady at that time was nearly full grown.

The Nobility for the most part speak French, but the Merchants very rarely any language but their own & even *that*, few among them are capable of writing correctly; this arises from the circumstance of the orthography being extremely difficult on account of the great approximation of several letters to each other in sound, so that good orthography in Russian can only be expected of persons educated better than is customary. The liberty allowed to unmarried ladies of all classes is far less than that enjoyed by our fair Countrywomen, concerning which they hear me talk with wonder and incredulity. On one occasion a young lady observed to me that if the intercourse between the two sexes in my country was as unreserved as I represented it to be, the state of public morals must be very fine there. Could the most laboured detail give a better idea of the state of public morals here than such an observation from such a source? It is a thing almost unheard of in this Country for a young lady to go into any society unaccompanied by her Mamma, or some stiff and buckram-faced old aunt, and as to taking a walk with a Gentleman alone, Miss would think it a crime of such magnitude as to shrink at the bare idea. Ideas still *barer* do not however at all alarm her. Such is the force of education and habit, for waltzing is here looked upon as one of the most innocent amusements in the world, and a young lady who cannot brook being seen with a Gentleman on the public walk, thinks it as indifferent a thing as possible to clasp her hand on his shoulder, or perhaps one on each, and allow him to grasp her around the waist, and hold on pretty tightly too, and then dance round & round the room with him in this posture, intermingling knees between. Can anything be imagined more ridiculous and inconsistent? Yet the delicate minded old ladies look on without the least uneasiness, tho' they see their Daughters sometimes almost mooning in their partners' arms! The Europeans may flout as they will at the fastidiousness of the unpolished inhabitants of the other side of the Atlantic, but I hope and trust that region may remain long uncorrupted by such pernicious refinement, which cannot but have its effects in debasing the finest feeling of the soul.

The Russian nobility have adopted the foreign costume, but the other classes still adhere to their own. The national dress of women is, when they can afford it, very rich but at all events showy, & the Mosco costume beautiful. I have been at Balls where all have been apparelled in it, which happens but rarely, for the classes that adhere to them at the present day are not in the habit of frequenting balls. I am at a loss how to describe this Dress; it is kind of a Robe which buttons before all the way down to the ancles [*sic*] & is profusely embroidered, and bound with a broad ribbon or lace, it is mostly of some bright color, when not much bespangled, red I think the most becoming. Some of the young women wear Corsets but they do not brace them so tight as to punish or deform themselves as many of our ladies do. With this Dress they wear a kind of inverted crescent on their head, richly embroidered, and gradually tapering off toward the hidden part of the neck where it is tied with a ribbon. Their Hair I must say is generally beautiful, and adorns them much, being for the most part a bright flax in color and worn hanging down their backs lower than their waists, neatly platted [*sic*] and tied with a ribbon near the end. In the winter they wear over their usual dress a kind of *long* short-Gown which covers their hips and is lined with fur, this too is rich if the owner can afford it, indeed the excessive diverseness of furs in this Country gives them an opportunity of displaying that extravagance which is said to be so natural to women, more in this garment than in any other, so that the part of their apparel which is only intended to protect them from the cold when in open air, is often worth thousands of Rubles.

I regret to say that nearly all the ladies here paint, and that very badly too, just as if you were to take some rouge on the end of your finger and rub a round spot on each cheek without caring at all for its being known. The Dress of the female Peasants is similar in shape to the one I have attempted to describe: and their gala suit very gay, so that it is no unpleasant thing to go through a large Russian village on a holiday and see them all clean, and in their best attire. These people however have a shocking disregard for the most beautiful part of the female form (which the mercantile class has not), so that in trying on their apron they tug their breasts down as low as they can which they confine under them in that disgusting position. The Consequence of this is, that in a short time they become much distended and softened, & upon the bosom of a young woman of twenty you see a pair of breasts which you would take to be the property of a Matron of sixty at least. It is in vain that I have endeavoured to convince some of them of the folly of so revolting a fashion; they have always listened to me with great good nature but when I have ended my harangue,

shaken their heads and said "*Niette batooshka lootchee tack.*"—No father, it is better thus.

The Russians though dirty in appearance, which arises chiefly from their seldom changing their clothes, are very fond of bathing and bathe often in all seasons: this is the case with both sexes and they seem upon pretty good terms with each other, for it isn't an uncommon thing to see men and woman together in a River, or Bathhouse. You will, of course, understand the lower classes. Such a sight however is far from recalling to mind those days of primitive simplicity when our ancestors are said to have partaken of this pleasure alike indiscriminately, on the contrary, it presents such a scene of barbarous degradation as cannot fail to inspire us with a very indifferent opinion of our species, it is an evidence of a nearer approach to the brute creation than we are willing to allow. What indeed can be imagined more brutal than the idea of seeing hundreds, you may say, of human beings of both sexes bathing together, and looking upon each other with the same indifference as a drove of cattle? We are but a sorry set of immortals at best I fear!

The national Baths are very singular things and struck me at first as being very ridiculous and indelicate, but habit reconciles us to everything, and when I lived in the Interior where I had one of them at my own lodgings (which is customary in the country in small towns) I became very fond of this mode of bathing & indulged in it often. The Russian bath has a large stove or *peech* in it, the room being very close, this peech is lit (as the term is) and serves at the same time to heat the apartment, and boil the water. The Process of bathing is as follows; the Person about to bathe, being stripped, lies down on a wide bench, which extends along each side of the room, and a man having put a stick of wood under his head proceeds to wash him. He takes a bucket of warm water into which he dips a piece [of] Mat, having first torn it to pieces, and filling the Mat well with soap, begins to rub and scrub his subject in the most unmerciful manner, turning him about from side to side just as if he were dead: in fact he goes through the whole operation with precisely the same degree of indifference that I have seen exhibited in washing cold and inanimate bodies. The lower classes of people, instead of pieces of Mat, use small branches of birch dried with the leaves on for this purpose, with which they beat one another til they become clean. This done the person must get up, and has water, first very warm, then tepid, then a little cooler, and finally as cold as he can bear it, poured upon his head, which running down his sides produces one of the most delightful and exquisite sensations I have experienced. In one corner of the room there is a higher bench erected where (the room being full of steam) it is naturally much warmer than below. On

this bench or platform the Person lies after having been well washed and rinced [*sic*] and there enjoys in its highest perfection all the delicacy of the vapor Bath. The platform is so hot that the boards must be wetted with cold water before it is possible to support the situation. The Steam is produced by throwing water into a recess of the *peech*, upon an iron plate from whence it rushes in such a volume as for the moment almost to suffocate. There is certainly something very disagreeable and revolting in the idea of being rolled about and washed in the way I have described, by a great bearded fellow, and I insisted, the first time I went to one of these baths, on being shown into a Room where I might be quite alone; this shyness however soon wore off, and although I still take a private bath, I now never think of going into it unaccompanied. The Ladies are of course washed by women, and if a Gentleman be of such delicate nerves as to dislike being washed by a man, he has never any difficulty in procuring one of the "softer sex" willing to undertake that office, the honor and profit of this procuration devolve upon the *Banshtseek*, or attendant at the Baths. A Sopha or Mattress is always in an adjoining room.

In the Cities there are public baths of the Kind I have been describing where forty or fifty may bathe at a time, and as the Russians are not very fastidious in these matters they *do* bathe together to that number. There are usually two large apartments in them, one of which is properly speaking intended for the women, and one for the men, in case however of the former being visited by the latter, they do not appear in the least abashed nor discomfited. Adjoining the Bath House, there is generally a floored yard divided into two parts, one for each sex, where the very poorest people wash themselves in the open air during the summer season, branches being placed in it for their accomodation. No sight can be imagined more disgusting than the objects which are seen on going into the side devoted to females, as very old women repair thither in great numbers, who lank, haggard, and shrivelled up, offer a strange contrast to the immense masses of fat which are observed in women along side of them of a more moderate age. A young girl of a tolerably decent form serves sometimes to relieve the unseenly picture, but even among hundreds of *them* scarcely any are found worthy of notice, and none on whom the eye can dwell with pleasure. Had Thomson lived here the world would never have heard of Musidora. To wash one's self in the Department of the Bath last named costs 9co,[kopecks] rather less than two cents our money, in the inner public apartments 50co—the price of a bath in one of the private rooms is Rs [Rubles] 2.00 (& a few copecks to the *Banshtsheek*.), for this however, as many may bathe in it at a time as wish, say two, three or four. The Degree of heat common

in one of these baths is said to be 40° of Reaumur, 120° Fahrenheit and the cold in the open air into which the Russians go without the least hesitation immediately after quitting the bath, is sometimes 30° of Reaumur, or 36° of Fahrenheit below zero. That so sudden a transition from one extreme to the other should not in many cases be attended with evil consequences it is difficult to believe: the fact admitted, it must serve as one of the strongest adducible instances of the force of habit; for the Russians are accustomed to this from their earliest childhood.

The Men in the Country may, many of them, be termed very fine looking men, but the passion for war being universal here you usually see them in a military coat (I speak of the High class) and as it is the fashion of the Russian officers to wear Corsets, they are mostly screwed up and distorted in the most ridiculous manner, so that it is no uncommon thing to see a young Man of 24 or 25 years of age, with a waist as thin as that of a Philadelphia lady, walking along half double, it being utterly impossible for him to hold himself strait. Some of course carry it to a greater excess than others. This contemptible and most vile and effeminate fashion extends even to the common soldiers who are all tortured in the same manner; with him however it does not probably proceed from choice.

Vanity is an inherent quality of the Russians, or rather an inherent failing; a failing which renders most nations contemptible in the eyes of their neighbours—among the Russians it is not confined to any rank nor degree, it is alike implanted in the breasts of the Peasant and the Prince, insomuch that although it must be acknowledged that this nation is far behind all others in Europe, or those sprung from European origin, yet the high opinion it entertains of itself gives it in its own conceit the most exalted station among them. The Poet expressed his pride in the glory and fine qualifications of his countrymen in the most unlimited and enthusiastic panegyric, whilst the vassal, abject as all vassals must be, thinks the guarantee of his honor quite sufficient in saying "Yah Roossky!" *I am a Russian*, and this too at the very moment he means to deceive you.

The following lines of one of their most celebrated Poets may serve as an illustration of the above Remark. The Translation is literal.

O! Russian, O! mortal of magnanimous race,
O! breast of stone,
O! giant submissive to the Tsars,
When and where couldst thou not attain
Whatever glory was worthy of thee?
Thy labours are to thee amusements,

Thy crowns shine among the thunder clouds,
Is the battle in the field? Thy brilliance obscures
the starry vault,
Is the war upon the waters? The abyss
foams beneath thee,
Thou art everywhere the terror of thy foes.
Derjavin.

The Russian Merchants live very badly, indeed they do not know how to live well, though the rich ones have generally a large house, a fine horse, and, in Mosco, not infrequently a handsome wife. These things constituting what they consider luxury, neither is the idea at all amiss "in the abstract," but then they usually occupy some obscure & confined part of their house, and live upon coarse and common food. The Russian Merchant however gives a magnificent feast (if he can afford it) once or twice a year on his own & his wife's names' days in the observance of which they are very particular. If he be a man of sufficient importance to presume to do so, he invites to his entertainment some members of the nobility with whom he may chance to be acquainted, and in case he should be honored by their acceptance of his invitation, particularly if they be men of importance, nothing can exceed the host's pride and gratitude. On these occasions all the finest apartments, which in some houses are very splendid, are thrown open, and every thing, however expensive, is lavished upon his guests in the most extravagant and even ludicrous profusion. Champaign, Coffee, Chocolate, Tea, Malaga, Burgundy, Sweetmeats of every species and preserved in the most exquisite manner, Punches, Fruits of all kinds in the very dead of Winter, of which a single dish sometimes costs thousands of Rubles; in fact every thing is there that Luxury or extravagance can desire, and handed about pretty much in the order I have mentioned; and stuff yourself you must, above all if you should unfortunately happen to be a stranger. Nothing can be imagined more dull and uninteresting, "weary, stale, flat, & unprofitable," than one of these Evening societies in a Merchant's house, although they only assemble as I have already observed once or twice a year, and might therefore be reasonably supposed to be overburdened with a store of scandal and anecdote. The men lounge about and play cards, and the women sit in a room by themselves, stuck up for all the world like painted dolls, devoid of all spirit and animation. This lasts to perhaps one or two o'clock in the Morning, when not withstanding all the foregoing stuffing, a prodigious supper is served up, two or three hours long, at which they sit and cram themselves again till they are ready to burst. The Champaign, in which the health of the

master & the mistress of house is drunk, is handed around by a servant, and all the guests must drink out of the same glass; this is what they call living together, *droojeśtvo*, or in a friendly way. The sweetmeats are, in like manner, set out on a side table, with but one spoon in each saucer, at which whoever feels inclined takes a lick, and puts it back again for the accomodation of his successor. These things, by the bye, are practised in the houses of the first nobility, and universally practised too. I have never seen the sweetmeat part of the Concern managed differently. I have counted at one of the suppers above described twenty three various dishes handed around one after another. Some people say they have seen fifty on similar occasions—I can not vouch for a greater number than twenty three. Some, instead of Evening Parties and Suppers, give Dinners equally splendid and profuse, they not failing in either case, to display enormous and masif services of plate, which they are in the habit of borrowing from their friends, in order to give their entertainments a greater degree of *eclat*.

The nobility on the other hand live well at all times, and their politeness and hospitality exceed all bounds; on entering their houses the manner in which every thing is offered gives the fullest assurance that you are a welcome visitor, and in the interior of the country where they are little tainted by foreign manners, they are in fact the most excellent and unsophisticated people. I lived for some time on the estate of one of them, between 5 & 600 versts [7] from this place, and never once abroad have I been treated with so much attention and kindness. I had, during my residence in the neighbourhood, many invitations from people of great rank to spend the whole Summer with them, but could not avail myself of their offers, my object not being exactly pleasure.

The Religion of the Russians is that of the Greek Church; there are however several sects who differ from each other in some of their tenets; the service is performed among them all in the Sclavonian language, and their mode of worship abounds in forms and ceremonies. Their churches are adorned with rich altars, and many images of the saints, the holy Virgin, and Christ, some of which are very valuable in consequence of the diamonds and precious stones by which they are surrounded. (There is one of the holy Virgin in the great Cathedral in Mosco, said to be painted by St. Luke, estimated at several millions of Rubles.) There are no seats in their churches the want of which is but little felt, in as much as there is very seldom any preaching. The Priests are remarkable for their fine hair, which they wear hanging loosely down their backs to a considerable length, combed and curled

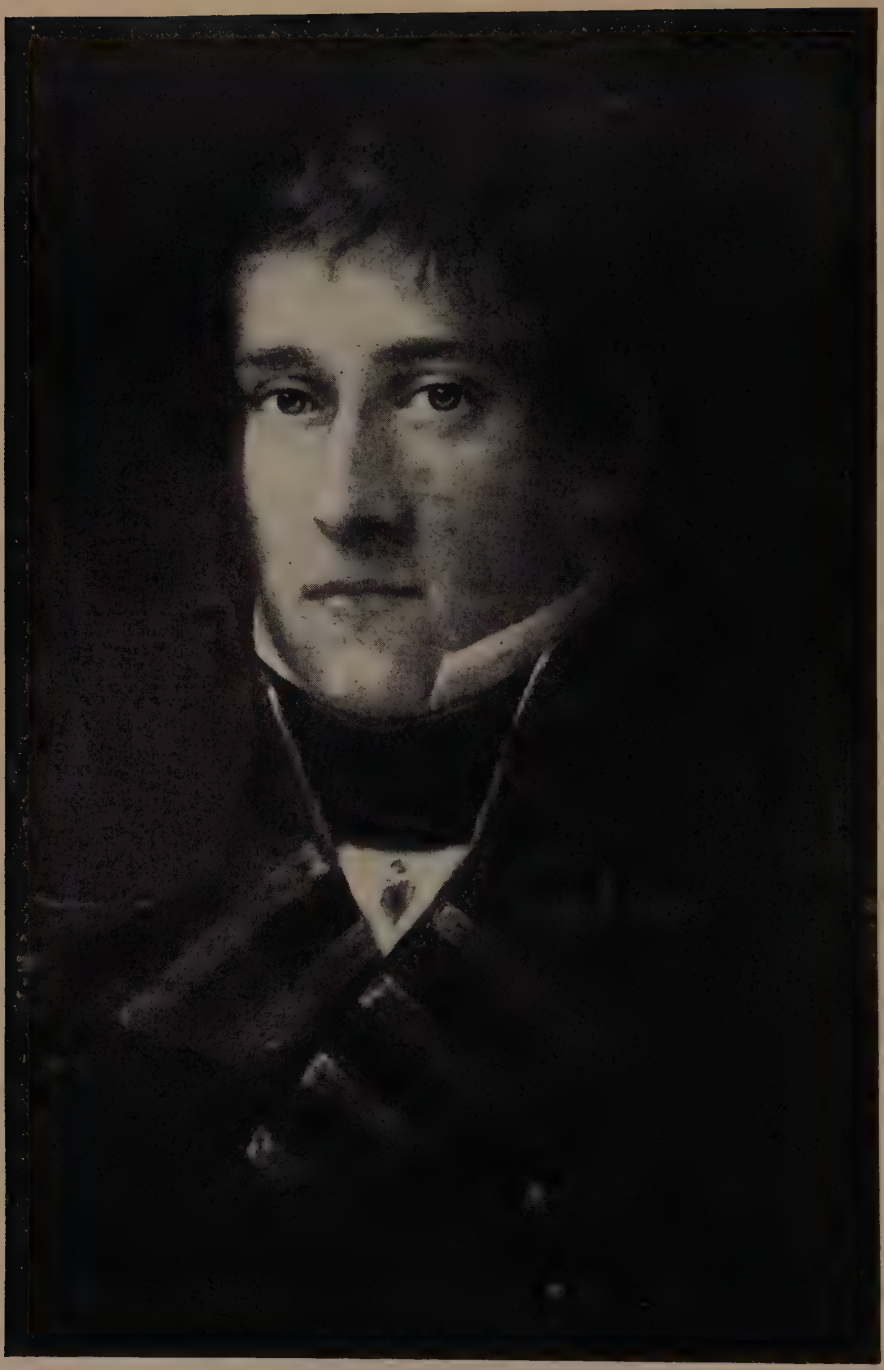
[7] Approximately between 330 and 400 miles.

in the nicest manner. They are mostly poor, and men without influence except in the affairs of the Church—their moral character is not understood to be irreproachable, they cannot however be charged with indulging immoderately in what we consider the good things of this work.

I must now, Sir, beg leave to conclude, which is a privilege you will no doubt allow me with little reluctance. My Remarks have been spun out, in copying, to a much greater length than I first intended: if they should afford you any gratification in their perusal, I shall be highly flattered; if on the contrary they should only serve to weary your patience, I must beg a thousand pardons for having put your good nature to so severe and tedious a trial.

Believe me to be very respectfully and sincerely

your friend.
Wm. D. Lewis



COMMODORE THOMAS MACDONOUGH

Painted by an unknown Italian artist in Venice in 1805. Purchased from Mrs. Zechariah Macdonough Roberts in 1897 and presented to the Historical Society of Delaware, where it is now located.

Commodore and Mrs. Thomas Macdonough:

Some Lights on Their Family Life

By Charles G. Muller *

MOST of the published material on Thomas Macdonough, born December 23, 1783, at The Trap, St. George's Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware, presents the victor of the Battle of Lake Champlain as a very serious, strongly religious naval officer who saw his duty and did it. A hero to the American people, he also held the respect and affection of the men and officers he commanded.

Most precious to him, however, his wife adored him to the day of her death, and his in-laws showed their love for him at every turn of their family life. Some of the Commodore's personal letters, correspondence of Mrs. Macdonough [1] with her navy friend Mrs. Chew,[2] and a letter of Mrs. Macdonough's mother [3] throw interesting lights on a character that had colorful variety, warm depth, and infinite understanding.

Arranging these letters—now held by descendants spread over the United States—in a loose chronology, we catch glimpses of an optimistic man with an eye to the humor around him, with friends who also had wide experience as men of the world, a man married to a gay and witty woman. And we see, shining through the handwritten lines, a good marriage.

* Mr. Muller, a professional writer, is the author of a full-scale history-biography of Macdonough and the battle of Lake Champlain entitled *The Proudest Day*. He has also written *Hero of Champlain*, a novel for children, just published this September.

1 Lucy Ann Shaler of Middletown, Connecticut.

2 Abbey Hortense Chew, wife of U. S. Navy Purser Thomas I. Chew.

3 Lucretia Ann (Denning) Shaler.

At twenty-four, fresh from helping Stephen Decatur burn the "Philadelphia" under Tripoli's guns and presenting the flags of captured pirate boats to Commodore Edward Preble, Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough exuberantly writes his friend William Van Dusen in Middletown, Connecticut:

New York, March 11, 1807

Dear Van,

Pardon me my good fellow for not writing you sooner, but I assure you I have been so busy shipping men for the Ship [4] and so many damn things in the way that I have no time. I did not get your letter till a few days ago when I arrived at Washington. I stayed there about a week, then opened a rendezvous at Baltimore where I have been until three days ago.

I came on here to ship the remainder of the crew (one hundred men) and expect to be at least a month in shipping them owing to the low wages. In the meantime you must write me often for the Ship is ready for sea and will sail immediately the above men are procured.

You had better be on the lookout. Hooper and his wife have parted in a squall. That is, they have separated but I cannot give you information respecting the cause of their dispute. I got upset a short time ago in the damn stage, and was near breaking my leg, arm, back, and fracturing my skull—a damn hard fall and a narrow escape of broken bones.

I would make this longer but the damn sailors are making such a noise together with drum and fife and they confuse me or would the devil himself who has a larger rendezvous open than I have.

Excuse blunders and tell Whittlesey I shall be glad to hear from him.[5] Make my best respects to your family and all enquiring friends.[6]

A year later, 1808, Lieutenant Macdonough apparently retained much of his youthful bounce and used some of it on a navy yard blacksmith as this letter to him in Vermont from lawyer William Van Hook indicates:

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[4] Ship "Wasp"; Captain, John Smith; First Lieutenant, Thomas Macdonough.

[5] A Chauncey Whittlesey administered the estate of Mrs. Macdonough's father, Nathaniel Shaler, in 1817; the Whittlesey mentioned in this letter may be Chauncey or a close relation.

[6] This letter and the three following it are in the collection of Vance Macdonough, Utell International, 80 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. In some of the following letters, for the sake of brevity and continuity of thought, extraneous material has been omitted and so indicated by use of. . . .

New York, September 4, 1812
No. 30 Broad Street

Dear Sir,

Within the last few days I have had several conversations with Tucker, the lawyer of your man the Blacksmith, on the subject of a compromise of his claim for Damages against you. From all that I can learn, the man is extremely stubborn and difficult to satisfy. If I could see him myself I think I could do something more with him, but they take good care to keep him in the Back Ground, and I cannot learn his name or where he resides.

In answer to my proposals, his lawyer mentions that he will not consent to take less than $300 and his Costs, say some $25 to $40 more. I stated to him that the statute of limitations would soon release you from all Responsibility to him; he ought of course to consult his interest and take less. His attorney says in answer to that that an Indictment for this assault has been found against you in Kings County, Long Island, and against that the Law does not Run. Of this last circumstance I was not apprized until he mentioned it.

I think I mentioned to you the last time I saw you that our Statute of Limitations barred actions of this kind after *three* years. I find by looking at our law that I was mistaken and that it was *four* years instead of three. This affair happened if I mistake not in the fall or winter of 1808; if I am correct in the time, four years have not yet elapsed. Our courts have decided that if the suit is not brought within the time prescribed by law after the party was at large in the State and not *secreted* that then it is barred.

You best know how long after this affair happened you came to town or went *out of the Yard* on Long Island, as from that time the Law will commence running; under all the circumstances of the case, it will be for yourself to determine on the course you had best adopt.

If there will be no occasion for your coming to this City until the next Spring, I think you will after that time have nothing to apprehend from the *Event* of a suit, tho' I have no doubt he will have you arrested if it should only be to alarm you. . . .

Married December 12, 1812, to the woman he had long loved, he received word in Burlington, Vermont, of a newly-married Middletown crony. His New York shipping agents and friends write:

New York, 11th March 1813

Dear Sir,

. . . De Koven has just arrived among us, as happy probably as you are yourself. How much do we bachelors make in celibacy? But our turn will perhaps come by and bye! . . . .

With sincere and faithful friendship
most cordially Yours
Hull & Griswold

Henry L. DeKoven reveals his own feelings in a letter sent to Shelburne, Vt., on Lake Champlain:

New York, March 23d, 1813

My dear Friend,

Your esteemed favor of the 3d came duly to hand, and it gave me much pleasure to find you disposed when at a distance to continue a correspondence from which I have derived so much pleasure when we have been together. And believe me, you cannot look forward with more pleasure than myself to the time when we shall again be in the daily habit of meeting and enjoying together the society of our mutual friends. I assure you that nothing but necessity will induce me to give up the plans that we have so frequently descanted on and looked forward to with such pleasure.

I am now fully persuaded that a residence in New York would never agree with the habits and disposition of my wife or myself, and that in the select society we shall probably have in Middletown and the pleasantness of its local situation we should enjoy more of the real comfort of life than years in New York would afford. . . .

A vessel goes to Albany today or tomorrow from the Navy Yard with things for you; and the Master of the Yard Capt. Ellison has politely offered to forward and include in the bill of lading a small box for you in which will be this letter and some things for your *cara senora.*

You have made great dispatch in your business. I believe you think this War calls upon all patriotic people to furnish with all possible dispatch an addition to the population. I assure you I'll furnish no means to carry on a war so inimical to the interests of my friends. Therefore you need not expect to hear of anything of that kind on our side. . . .[7]

[7] Mrs. Macdonough's first pregnancy.

At twenty-three, Lucy Ann Shaler went to Lake Champlain as Lieutenant Macdonough's bride. Six letters [8] to her mother—signed "Your affectionate child, Ann," "Your truly affectionate child, Ann," and "Your Ann"—illuminate her domestic life in a region settled less than fifty years, and give tender insights into her relationships with her husband during a trying period for both.

In her first letter, she writes:

Vergennes, Vt.
(on Lake Champlain)
1813 [no month or day given; probably following honeymoon trip]

I must begin my letter with telling you that Mr. Fuller has had his full and complete revenge upon me for "holding up cuts" and "turning in toes." [9] The night we had at Pittsfield [10] he kept his Cotillons going over my head most unmercifully, until nine o'clock, and then I can confidently assert that the inhabitants of Pittsfield do not dance on "the light fantastic toe."

You will be surprised to hear that Parisian manners and customs prevail in the midst of the Green Mountains, but it is a fact that Mrs. King, on her first arrival in France, was never more delighted with the attention of the male attendants than myself on attempting to pass through the kitchen of a Tavern, to view the appurtenances thereof. The landlord politely waited on me to the door, apologising all the way, for being cluttered up with boards.[11]

We have had a delightful journey and the sleighing good. . . . I am still at the Public House and do not yet know where we are going to board, but shall write again when we are settled. . . .

A year later, having driven home the previous summer with

[8] Copies of all six are in the collection of Thomas M. Russell, Jr., of Ridgewood Road, Middletown, Conn.

[9] A peripatetic dancing master of the Connecticut-Massachusetts area?

[10] On the honeymoon route, from Middletown to Burlington.

[11] A custom, followed until as late as 1920 to my personal knowledge, kept the key to a country inn's privy in the kitchen. When you needed to use the inn's facilities you "asked the chef for the key" on your way through the kitchen to the outhouse. Mrs. Macdonough's reference to the tavern's "appurtances" probably meant this.

her mother and having lost her first baby,[12] she returns to Vermont:

Vergennes
Sat. Feb. 5th. 1814

I hope my dear mother will not begin to think that I am lodged in Canada, but my dislike to writing so increased by being out of the practice of it that I shall not be able to write more than one letter a week, unless the same *phobia* which affected me last winter should seize me a second time, when you will perhaps be as greatly inundated as you were then.

Would you suppose it possible that I have been to a Ball already? A good beginning, you will say, to winter's dissipations. I can describe it in a few words. I met some pleasant people there, and the Ball was agreeable!

The ladies danced on their heels, and the gentlemen in gallantry bound, followed their example. To attempt a description of the superb dresses worn on the occasion would be useless, but for the benefit of the girls at the next assembly I will tell them of one which I beg them to imitate, a dark blue calico trimmed with black crepe, handkerchief to match, with a black net cap, and calf skin shoes. "Very pert," as Mary Ann said to the Frenchman.

We are still in pursuit of lodgings, which it is next to impossible to get. The inhabitants appear disposed for kindness, though not polished.

We dined on board the Flotilla this week and I not only received pleasure, but instruction—for I discovered that Pigs Head makes nearly as good soup as Calves Head; that is, a small pig—an envious lesson to learn from Navy Officers, but it is true.

Two weeks later she writes:

Vergennes, Vt. Feb. 22, 1814
Tuesday

My dearest Mother,

I shall doubtless go to housekeeping toward the fall of the year; before that I cannot get ready. . . . I feel grateful both to Papa and yourself for wishing me to remain another year at home, but there I am of no use, and I have so long been in the habit of housekeeping that it is very irksome to me to lead so idle a life. Family cares would prevent my feeling that constant anxiety which last summer made me so miser-

[12] While Mrs. Macdonough makes no definite statement about this, she does allude in her letter of March 24, 1814, to what must have been the miscarriage of a son.

able, and my husband wishes to have a home of his own to resort to. For these reasons I should like to keep house as soon as I can get prepared. . . .

I dare not believe in the probability of peace. Though I look forward with pleasure to being settled, yet my dear husband does not seem to enter as one in my anticipations. I dare not think such hopes will be realized and must content myself without him, though seven months absence has not taught me to bear the deprivations of his society the better. . . .

The following month she writes:

Vergennes, Vt. Mar. 16th
Wednesday A. M.
12 o'clock, 1814

Dear Mother,

I do not remember when I wrote home last, but must go to work while the fit is upon me, since I have grown so lazy . . .

I do not know how people can live without some particular object or pursuit. It appears to me that an idle life or one not employed to some end, is a perfect misery. I am confident we lose our facilities by not keeping them in use, and I am sure the last fifteen months have reduced my ideas to a thimblefull, and unless these form a contact and, as Godwin would say, "generate" new ones, I shall have my pericranium left void, soon. I read till I get dizzy and sleepy, then I sew a little, then I knit; but even sewing, reading, and knitting do not fill up the vacuum.

The good woman with whom I live takes every pains to make me comfortable. I worked up a cap for her sister and she sent me a pie. The people here are very clever but it is not a season when they can be very sociable, as you are liable to drown in the mud. I await the weather to settle to ride on horse back. I have the offer of as many horses as I can ride. . . .

Tell Mrs. Warner[13] I shall depend upon her engagement in October though it was made almost a year from that time.

In a postscript, she adds:

I went to Quaker meeting Sunday night. Friend preached nearly ninety minutes; not much to my edification, it being very cold. Husband returned from Plattsburgh Sunday evening; gone four days, a great while.

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[13] Nurse, no doubt, scheduled for Mrs. Macdonough' second confinement.

Eight days later Mrs. Macdonough writes her mother again:

Vergennes, March 24, 1814

I enjoy excellent health, though unable to bear fatigue. Nor do I believe my constitution will ever recover from the shock it has sustained, but I should be ungrateful to complain where occasional weakness is the only thing I have to contend with.[14]

I have told you the people here seemed very *clever*. You will also think they are very *queer*. The lady who charitably took us to board, has concluded she can keep us no longer. Accordingly we depart bag and baggage on Tuesday. Like the shilling who said he went through so many hands, our "next owner" is Col. Fisher; the females of the family are pleasant, but how long they will be content to keep us is uncertain. There is an universal dread of officers among the enlightened inhabitants of V———. They are so *domestic* that they have not as yet invited us to drink tea with them, but say they intend to. However, the mud is so much worse than ever it was in Hartford[15] that it is almost an impossibility to get out of the house. . . .

I hope you think seriously about coming up for me. It will be a pleasant jaunt for you by the middle of June and I shall think of your coming.

With her husband approaching the peak of his naval obligations, Mrs. Macdonough writes home with wifely concern and considerable indigation:

Vergennes, April 4th
[no year given; undoubtedly 1814]

I am surprised to find that the urgency of my husband's business should not be sufficient apology to our friends in New York for his not calling on them. If they knew that I scarcely see him ten minutes in the day, and that he is soon going to sleep down at the vessels, they will find that his public duties are the first and nearly all with him.

Both mind and body are continually occupied, and Uncle Henderson's objection to wives accompanying officers would be entirely obviated if he saw how little intercourse Husband and myself have together. . . .

Having won the Battle of Lake Champlain and the acclaim of a nation, Commodore Macdonough watched his wife's and his

[14] See note 12.

[15] This may refer to a special condition or a special occasion in Hartford, but most likely Mrs. Macdonough intended to write Middletown.

own intimate hopes of two years vanish. From Middletown, Connecticut, he writes Mrs. Lydia Roberts,[16] living near Middletown, Delaware:

Middletown, June 27th, 1815

It will grieve you, my dear sister, to hear that yesterday I buried my other son.[17] Poor dear boy, he was but 12 hours sick with an inflammation on the lungs and cutting teeth at the same time.

Two sweet boys have I now lost in less than two years. . . .[18]

Six months later, Mrs. Macdonough writes her friend Mrs. Chew: [19]

Middletown, Jan. 2, 1816

Since writing you, I have been gratified by my Husband's return. I have the pleasing prospect of his remaining with me through my confinement. Having twice passed through this painful scene in his absence. I feel particularly solicitous to have him with me. The horrid idea of leaving the world without bidding him farewell increased my suffering greatly during my first daughter's [20] illness, and now I feel as if I wanted him here to receive my adieu—or to welcome my little stranger.[21]

The honors that his country continued to heap on Commodore Macdonough bring this note from Mrs. Macdonough to Mrs. Chew: [22]

Middletown, Feb. 12, 1817

The gentlemen are to give a public dinner on Friday to the delegation from Albany who are to present Husband with a sword from the State of New York in the Court House in Hartford. Poor Husband! I hope he will live through it. You know his utter aversion to parade. I wish sometimes we both loved it better.

Mrs. Macdonough lost a six-months-old daughter [23] in 1817, and the next year bore twin boys.[24] As she writes Mrs. Chew: [25]

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16 Oldest of the Commodore's five sisters and four brothers.

17 Thomas Nathaniel, born October 25, 1814.

18 Letter held by Hall Park McCullough, North Bennington, Vt.

19 Russell collection, *loc. cit.*

20 Obviously she meant to write "first son's illness." Her first daughter, Mary Ann Louisa, was not born until 1817.

21 James Edward Fisher, born April 12, 1816.

22 Russell collection, *loc. cit.*

23 Mary Ann Louisa; *b.* June 6, 1817, *d.* Dec. 5, 1817.

24 Charles Shaler and William Joseph, *b.* June 28, 1818. William Joseph died less than three years later, Feb. 14, 1821.

25 Russell collection, *loc. cit.*

Middletown, Sep. 2, 1818

I thank you for the offer of a nurse, but my dear little babies seem to have been the peculiar care of Providence since they were born. Two very healthy and excellent women lost their children when mine were born, and I have been so fortunate as to place my two little ones with them.

It is for me a great trial to have them away, but they are in such good hands and grow so astonishingly that I ought not to regret it. Though one of them is ten miles distant and the other two, I would not change their nurses except in case of necessity.

Is there any sensation more exquisite than to meet the child we love, blooming in health? I am old fashioned enough to place the happiness of seeing my children well and thriving in the first rank of blessings.

Five of the ten children which Mrs. Macdonough bore the Commodore died young. But even while she and her husband coped with births and deaths,[26] they kept an eye on the young Macdonoughs growing up in Delaware. As her "affectionate brother," the Commodore, writes Mrs. Roberts: [27]

Middletown, July 1, 1822

My dear Sister,

. . . I wish you would take some trouble to yourself and give me as early as you can an account: how the children of our deceased brother and sisters do, what they are doing, and where they live. Be particular, as you may suppose it is all strange to me; it is so long since I have been with them. . . .

We have now three fine boys in good health. The eldest between 6 and 7, the younger 20 months old whom I call Rodney after my friend in Wilmington—and a fine child he is too. My wife expects to be confined any day now.

I am almost as much a stranger to the situation of the younger parts of our family as a man would be who had never heard of them, and I

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[26] August Rodney, *b.* Nov. 20, 1820; Thomas, *b.* July 11, 1822; Frances Augusta, *b.* Sept. 20, 1823, *d.* Oct. 4, 1824; and Charlotte Rosella, *b.* June 23, 1825, two months before her mother's death.

[27] Russell collection, *loc. cit.*

much hope you will give a long account of them all as soon as it may be convenient.

The Commodore meanwhile kept an eye on the Chews and their liquor and food larders. During Mrs. Macdonough's confinement, he writes Commander Chew in New York: [28]

Middletown July 8th 1822

My dear Sir,

I have only received your favour of the 2nd Inst. respecting the whiskey from Com. Tingey. Enclosed I send you twenty-six dollars, being the amt. of what you paid. I am under an impression I owe you something else; did you pay Clark for the Liqhour? If so, will you favour me with the amount; if not, will you have the goodwill when you meet H. to ask him the price he pd. and where I shall remit it to him.

And again he writes: [29]

Middletown June 25th 1823

Dear Sir,

I send per sloop Robert McCleave a half barrel of shad and a small box from Mrs. M. of southern hommany. . . . The shad is high, $6.25—though I suspect it is good. I spoke for 2½ barrels for myself, but could obtain but one. I suppose you know you must keep a small board with a stone on it in the barrel, to keep the fish under the brine. And when you take out a piece for use, endeavor to do it without permitting it to touch the stuff or scum that floats on the top—by pulling it outside by hand. The fish are better the second year; we are now using those of 3 years and we think them still better.

Mrs. M's things have all come safe, and O Lord such a piece of work to get up. The opening service never was seen in our town. I could not help singing the Yarmouth song of poor old Dr. Graham—"The night after Larry was born, the boys they all paid him a visit."

We are all well, though I should be better I think to smell a little salt water, which I hope I shall do ere long, though I hear nothing about it.

Five months after Commodore Macdonough wrote Mrs. Roberts for Delaware family news, she provided it, and the Commodore quickly responds: [30]

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[28] Letter in collection of Samuel R. Dabney, P. O. Box 38, Los Olivos, Cal.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Macdonough collection, *loc. cit.*

Middletown, December 14, 1822

I was much gratified, my dear Sister, to receive your letter this morning of the 9th instant. . . . I am glad to know the proper names of Samuel's son who is with me, though it would be well for him to know his birthday, which none of us do know.[31] Can you give it? He is a smart boy, looks well, and learns well. I hope he will make a good and capable man.

My own children are James Edward, Charles Shaler, August Rodney—and Thomas. So you see I have four boys and I am sure, setting aside the common partialities of a father, they are smart, intelligent, well-behaved children. My family is, as I told you, very expensive, necessarily so; from my office, I am compelled as it were to see company and show off a little. . . .

I don't want James Thomas to go to Delaware until he gets his education. Then he may choose for himself what business to follow. I wish to give him and my own children as good an education as I am able to . . . and then they must shift for themselves, as I did through a dangerous and laborious minority and apprenticeship of 13 years. . . .

I should much like to visit the old house where I have spent some youthful, happy hours, to stroll about the fields and woods, as I used to do.

Commodore and Mrs. Thomas Macdonough had less than thirteen years of married life. Much of this time he spent at sea; most of it she spent having their children and, to the very end, carried her share of the marriage gallantly. Just two years before she died, Mrs. Macdonough writes Mrs. Chew: [32]

Middletown, July 31, 1823

My health which was partially restored by my journey is again declining, and I must seek all the means which God has provided for lengthening a life which I have for many months known could not continue long. . . .

Mrs. Macdonough's mother penned the last extant family letter to Commodore Macdonough: summation of a devoted family life and heartfelt expression of love for the man who

[31] Mrs. Macdonough and the Commodore had taken his deceased brother Samuel's son to live with them and to get his education in Connecticut. But they did not know until this letter whether his name was Samuel Thomas or Thomas Samuel; the nephew's name was, Mrs. Roberts wrote, James Thomas.

[32] Russell collection, *loc. cit.*

married her daughter. To him—commanding "Old Ironsides" somewhere in the Mediterranean on his last cruise, with 5-year-old Augustus Rodney—she writes: [33]

Middletown, Conn. Dec. 28th, 1824

This letter will, I hope and trust My Dear Son, find you in safety at your Port, with your health perfectly restored by the voyage and change of climate. Nothing would have reconciled me to your long absence but the prospect of the benefit to your health. And I look forward now to such renovation of your naturally fine constitution as will insure you comfort in your future years.

I miss you more than I can express. Numberless things occur wherein I want your advice and assistance, and I have no male friend at hand to look up to. . . .

I can write nothing that will excite much interest except from our domestic social circle; considering that it is, at both houses, a complete female establishment, we make out pretty well.

We keep ourselves warm, which is no difficult matter as the winter has been thus far uncommonly temperate. . . . We also make out to get enough to eat; not as well, however, as if you were here to "pick up" for us and to prevent Mr. Sebor and Mr. Francis monopolising all the fine geese and the turkeys which, by the way, are not near as abundant as last season when I heard you complain you had got tired of fat turkies.

The children at both houses have been indisposed in consequence of the open weather, which always in our climate brings more or less disease. The adults of both houses are well.

Lucy [Mrs Macdonough] is thin and her spirits are not good. How can they be, with the reiterated losses and a separation so long in prospect, from you and our dear little Rodney. We are most impatient to hear from you both, but we have not even had the satisfaction of having you ever spoke with. . . .[34] The girls all desire a remembrance to you. Amelia writes by this conveyance.[35] The others would write, but have taken into their heads you do not like to receive any letters. If that is the case,

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[33] Macdonough collection, *loc. cit.*

[34] Mail in that period was passed to homeward-bound ships when they hailed (spoke) each other in passing.

[35] Youngest of Mrs. Shaler's ten children, Amelia had been only six years old when the Commodore married her sister.

I ought to apologize for the length of mine; but you will arouse the garrulity of an old woman, when you consider she is

Your affectionate Mother
Lucy A. Shaler

Mrs. Macdonough, only 35 years of age, died August 9, 1825. On his way home with their son the Commodore, then 42 years old, also died the following November 10. They lie together in Middletown, Connecticut, where Henry DeKoven predicted they would find their happiness. And their epitaph concludes:

They were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
and in their death they were undivided.

Delaware's Captured Colonial Records

By Harold Hancock *

THAT the British carried away many of the public records of New Castle County and the Delaware State to Philadelphia during the fall of 1777 is well known, but what happened to them subsequently has always been somewhat of a mystery. Only when British and American sources are combined is some of the darkness concerning their capture pierced.[1]

As the British landed at the Head of Elk late in August, 1777, and advanced towards Philadelphia, it was realized that the records of New Castle County and Delaware stored in Wilmington were in danger. On September 1, a bill of £15.15.0 was presented to Captain Robert Pierce, whose company was stationed in Christiana Hundred, for the services and board of several men who had been guarding the Loan Office papers and other records at the house of Colonel Craghead.[2] On September 2, President John McKinly of the Delaware State issued to Captain Pierce or the commanding officer of his company the following order:

You are hereby required to furnish a Guard of Four of the Militia of your Company to be placed at the House of Lt. Col. Craghead for the protection of the Public Papers Records &c. which are there deposited

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1 These captured Delaware records should not be confused with the land warrants, grants, and surveys that Delaware secured from the state of Pennsylvania in 1802. When the state of Delaware officially requested permission to obtain original papers or copies in Pennsylvania archives concerning land in Delaware, officials in the Keystone state at first rejected the request. The General Assembly of Delaware then specified as one of several conditions for cooperating in building the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal that this request be granted. The work of hunting out the originals and of copying proceeded during 1802, and by January, 1803, the papers were ready for distribution to the proper county and state offices. See *Laws of the State of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1816), III, 193-95, 246-49, and 298-99, and Ralph Gray, "The Early History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal," *Delaware History*, VIII (March, 1959), 237-38.

2 *Delaware Archives: Revolutionary War*, III (Wilmington, 1919), 1058.

at present—which Guards are to be regularly relieved, & are to be paid by the publick.

He was also directed to keep in readiness four wagons with a suitable team of horses for each " for the purpose of removing the said Papers &c at the shortest notice should such removal appear necessary for their better preservation." [3] On September 8, four teamsters presented bills to New Castle County for £9.0.0 for this service. The bill of one of them read: " To six days of my Self and halling and attending on the Records and public papers by order of President John McKinly Esq." Two other teamsters submitted bills for a single day's service.[4]

By direction of President McKinly the records had been transferred to a boat in the Christiana River, which was captured by the enemy on September 13. When Thomas McKean returned to Delaware after the British had left Wilmington, he informed the General Assembly that this was the condition of affairs:

> On my arrival I found, that all the records and public papers of Newcastle County, and every shilling of the money in their treasury and loan-office, together with the fund belonging to the Trustees of the Academy of Newark, and upwards of twenty five thousand dollars in the continental loan-office, besides a great quantity of private property had been captured in a schooner at Wilmington at the same time the President was taken by the enemy.[5]

In almost identical words McKean had previously informed George Washington of the loss of records and of the capture of the President of the state.[6]

In addition, the British captured the Great Seal of New Castle County, one which was being used as a Great Seal for the state *pro tempore*, until a legislative committee could arrange for another one. The Council of the Delaware State in 1777

[3] *Ibid.*, III, 1058-59.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 1059.

[5] Thomas McKean to the General Assembly of the Delaware State, Dover, October 22, 1777, H. Fletcher Brown Collection, Historical Society of Delaware.

[6] Thomas McKean to George Washington, Newark, October 8, 1777, in Jared Sparks, ed., *Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1853), I, 443.

directed that the Great Seal of Kent County " dated '83 " should be used henceforth as a Great Seal for the state *pro tempore*.[7]

The widow of Thomas Stroud, the owner of the vessel in the Christiana, petitioned the legislature in 1785 for compensation for damages committed by the enemy and for five days' hire. After Eleazer McComb, Auditor of Accounts, reviewed the claim, he concluded:

> That it appears to him a vessel belonging to the petitioner was taken or hired, by the then president of the state, to receive on board the papers of the continental loan office of this state and the records of New Castle county, together with some valuable private property, in order to preserve them from falling into the hands of the enemy then on their march from the Head of Elk to Philadelphia. That the said vessel with the above mentioned papers, records and property on board, lying under the guns of the fort near Wilmington, was taken by the enemy on the morning of the thirteenth of September 1777, and received so much damage while in their possession, that it cost the petitioner upwards of one hundred and ninety-one pounds ten shillings to repair her, which, together with £15.0.0 charged for five days hire, amounts to the sum of two hundred and six pounds twelve shillings and ten pence, for which he prays to be reimbursed by the state.

The Auditor of Accounts recommended that Delaware and the United States should share the expense equally, as both the records of New Castle County and of the continental loan office were involved. The legislature passed a resolution to pay the widow of Thomas Stroud the sum of £131.5.0.[8]

The account in Scharf's *History of Delaware* agrees with the above narrative, except in stating that a sloop was captured in which to place the stolen valuables and records.[9] Elizabeth Montgomery mentioned how McKinly heard a noise outside his bedroom one night in September, 1777, and flung open a window to discover that his mansion was surrounded by British soldiers and that he himself was a prisoner.[10] A number of letters written

[7] " Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State from 1776 to 1792," *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, VI (Wilmington, 1887), 159-61.

[8] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Delaware State*, 1785 (Wilmington, 1785), pp. 13-14.

[9] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1888), I, 246.

[10] Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington* . . . (Wilmington 1853), p. 241.

by McKinly to his wife from on board the British ship "Solebay" off New Castle and later from Philadelphia and New York, where he was taken by his captors, are preserved in the Historical Society of Delaware, but they contain nothing about the captured records.[11]

One person with a special interest in New Castle County records was Theodore Maurice, who at the beginning of the American Revolution was Register for the Probate of Wills, Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, and Comptroller of the Customs. Although he was urged to retain his county offices, he remained loyal to the King, and on March 12, 1777, he was directed by President McKinly to surrender the records of the Court of Common Pleas to the new Prothonotary, Gunning Bedford, and the records of the office of Probate of Wills to the new Register, Richard McWilliam. Maurice was careful to see that these officials signed a declaration acknowledging receipt of an itemized list of books and papers. Probably these were some of the records captured a few months later by the British. President McKinly's directive and the lists signed by Bedford and McWilliam are reproduced at the end of this article.[12]

After Maurice returned to England in 1778, he submitted a memorial to the loyalist commissioners in which he mentioned the loss of his fee books, " wch. books, together with the Records of the County were taken at Wilmington by the King's troops and destroyed at Philadelphia." [13] In a letter of October 6, 1779, to Lord Dartry about his case, Maurice reported " that books & accounts having been taken among the records of Newcastle, by his Majesty's troops, have by some fatal accidents, too tedious to relate, been utterly destroy'd. . . ." [14]

On behalf of the loyalist commissioners, an agent investigated Maurice's claims and interviewed him, as well as members of the Penn family. In a report filed on April 25, 1782, this official noted:

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[11] McKinly Collection, Historical Society of Delaware.

[12] These untitled lists are in Audit Office 13/98 in the Public Record Office in London, England, and they have been microfilmed by the author, as have succeeding references to documents in English archives. Henceforth the abbreviations of AO and PRO will be used for Audit Office and Public Record Office.

[13] For this document, see Harold Hancock, "The New Castle County Loyalists," *Delaware History*, IV, 340.

[14] T. Maurice to Lord Dartry, October 6, 1779, in AO 13/71, PRO.

After the Battle of Brandywine the British Army, having taken Post at Wilmington, carried with them from thence to Philadelphia all the Records of his offices & of the County of Newcastle, where they remained for a short time in a Private House, and then, the Boxes which contained them being broken open in hopes of plunder by the Soldiery, the whole was burnt or otherwise destroyed.—Among these were Included original accounts of his own which were the only Evidence he had of Debts Due to him in his official Capacities to the Amount of £2,000. . . .[15]

Fortunately, Maurice was wrong in saying that these records were utterly destroyed. Portions of them were recovered from three different places. The legislature in June, 1778, requested the President of Delaware to commission someone to search for the missing papers in Philadelphia. Samuel Patterson undertook the mission, and he reported to President Caesar Rodney on July 20, 1778:

I am Just return'd from the City and am to inform you with all my Industry I have procur'd four chests of public papers, many of the books, half-usd. and torn. I found them in near a hundred places, barbers, Taylors Shops &c. should have got more if our old president had let them alone, but he gathered them to better Security as he thought. and Mr. T. Robison laid hold of a number that he may make his peace I sepose—they are both at New York. I pd. cash to all the Persons I got of—Should be Glad to know who I am to deliver them to as they are wanted to be arranged.[16]

President Rodney directed that these papers should be returned to the proper officials, and Patterson complied with this order, except in the case of Richard McWilliam, who, Patterson thought, might be removed from office. Patterson received £102.16.6 from the legislature for expenses incurred in procuring " part of the public papers of this State and of the County of New Castle." [17]

In New York, Thomas Robinson, prominent Sussex County loyalist, submitted a memorial to General Henry Clinton about

[15] Report of William Baker to [Lord Commissioners], April 25, 1782, in AO 13/71, PRO.

[16] " Minutes of the Council," *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, VI, 305-6, 321; George H. Ryden, ed., *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney* (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 267-77.

[17] Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*, p. 284.

the captured papers on July 11, 1780. His petition mentioned " that the public Records of the said Government were in 1777 taken at Wilmington by a Detachment of His Majesty's Troops and from thence removed to Philadelphia at which place many of them were lost & destroy'd." Robinson had some success in his quest. At the time that he petitioned President Nicholas Van Dyke in 1786 to be permitted to return to Delaware, he pointed out that he had befriended captured Delawareans and had the interests of the state at heart as evidenced " by collecting & preserving the Records of the County of New Castle & other public Papers when they were taken at Wilmington & but for your Pets. care would probably have been lost or destroyd. . . ." [18]

Before Robinson sailed to Nova Scotia in 1783 as a temporary refugee, he may have assisted James Booth, clerk of the lower house, in searching for the records in New York. President Nicholas Van Dyke on June 3, 1783, submitted a report to the General Assembly in which he mentioned that Booth had been sent to New York for this purpose and that he had been successful in recovering a considerable part of the captured records. Later Booth was paid £24.12.10 for the expenses of his trip.[19]

Another portion of the records was located in South Carolina. Governor Charles Pinckney announced that some Delaware records had been found in the office of the Secretary of State in South Carolina. Arrangements were made to have them shipped to Delaware, and on January 15, 1793, Governor Joshua Clayton informed the General Assembly that they had been received. He proposed that they be distributed to the proper county and state offices. They included a ledger of military accounts of the Flying Camp Battalion, proceedings of the Council of Safety, and mortgage records from the loan office in New Castle County. Governor Clayton's report and recommendation

[18] For these documents, see Harold Hancock, " Thomas Robinson, Delaware's Most Prominent Loyalist," *Delaware History*, IV (March, 1951), pp. 26-27, 33. Robinson's petition to President Van Dyke is owned by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Robinson of Georgetown. The author wishes to acknowledge assistance from Judge Richard S. Rodney in writing this article. His account of the captured colonial records is in Richard S. Rodney, *Colonial Finances in Delaware* (Wilmington, 1928), pp. 55-59.

[19] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Delaware State, 1782* (Wilmington, 1783), pp. 81, 105-6, 110.

are included at the end of the article.[20]

The General Assembly in 1799 enacted a law entitled "An Act for supplying the loss of records in particular cases." A preamble noted that some New Castle County records had been lost at the time of the British invasion in 1777 and that parts of them had not been recovered. The act provided that if a person presented a copy of a patent, deed, or will claimed to have been made from the missing records to the judges of the state Supreme Court, the judges should investigate and might declare the copy a valid legal record. In such cases it was required that notice of intention to file such an application be inserted in a Delaware and a Philadelphia newspaper.[21]

Thus from three different places, and with the assistance of a Delaware loyalist and the governor of another state, portions of the captured records were recovered. A way was even found to assist persons who had copies of documents from the missing records in having them declared legal. Perhaps it would have been better for historians if these captured records had remained outside the state for the next hundred years, for their subsequent fate was to be mistreated, burned, and vandalized. When Professor Edgar Dawson of the University of Delaware surveyed the state and county archives in Delaware in 1906, he found them in an appalling condition. He began his report by declaring, "There is probably no State in the Union where one could find less material for writing its history than Delaware, and there is certainly no one of the original thirteen in which so few records have been made and where so little care has been taken of those that have been made." When the statehouse at Dover was remodeled in 1873-1875, Dawson was told that many state papers were stored in an attic and exposed to plundering. What remained were then placed in a cellar and were frequently used as material by which to light fires. Dawson also reported that many volumes in county offices were missing and that the records were poorly arranged. Fortunately, conditions have drastically improved in the last half century, but nothing can

[20] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware*, 1793 (Wilmington, 1793), pp. 22-23; "Minutes of the Council," *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, VI, 1227, 1229.

[21] *Laws of the State of Delaware*, III, 72-73.

remedy the loss of many records by one means or another through the years.[22]

[*President McKinly Orders Theodore Maurice to Surrender New Castle County Records in his Possession on March 12, 1777*] [23]

To Theodore Maurice Esqr.
late Prothonotary and Register
for the Probate of Wills &c. in
and for the County of New Castle

Sir—

As Gunning Bedford Esqr. has been duly appointed Prothonotary or principal Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of New Castle, and Richard McWilliam Esqr. Register for the Probate of Wills and granting Letters of Administration within the same County, to whom Commissions have been issued for those offices; These are to require you to deliver up to the said Gunning Bedford and Richard McWilliam respectively all the Books and other Writings in your Custody and belonging to the said Offices: For which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

I am Sir,

Your very humble Servt.

Jno. McKinly.

[*New Castle County Records Surrendered by Theodore Maurice to Richard McWilliam on March 17, 1777*].[24]

One book Case—which holds the Wills Administrations Bonds & Inventorys, fil'd Alphabetically from 1676 till 1777;.

Ten Books mark'd ABCDEFGHIK in which are Recorded Wills & Letters of Administrations from 1676 till 1777.

Three Books with Marble Colours, one do. stich'd in pasteboard, &

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[22] Edgar Dawson, "Public Archives of Delaware," *American Historical Association Annual Report for 1906* (Washington, 1908), II, 129-48.

[23] AO 13/98, PRO.

[24] *Ibid.*

one do. unbound, in which are recorded Letters of Administrations from 1753 till 1770.

By virtue of a Commission from his Excellency John McKinly President Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Delaware State and by an order from his Excellency bearing date March 12th 1777 I do hereby acknowledge to have received from Theodore Maurice Esqr. late Register for the Probate of Wills & Granting Letters of Administration in and for Newcastle County the above Books & Records as they stand stated—this Seventeenth Day of March One Thousand and seven hundred and seventy seven.

R'd. McWilliam Register.

[*New Castle County Records Surrendered by Theodore Maurice to Gunning Bedford on March 18, 1777.*] [25]

Four old Books of Record, Bound marked ABDC which contains the proceedings of the Courts of Common pleas, Quarter Sessions & Orphans Court, from the year 1676 till 1700.

One Book lately Transcrib'd from the aforesaid four old Books which contains what relates to Grants &ca of Land, Administrations & Wills, Acknowledgment of Deeds &ca. from 1673 till 1700.

Sundry old Docquets from 1700 till 1718 Stitch'd.

Six Bound Books which contains the Proceedings of the Courts of Common pleas, Quarter Sessions, & Orphans Court from 1718 till 1728.

One Book Case yet in Newcastle which us'd to contain the Common Recovery's Docquets, Writs & Declarations, in the Common Pleas from 1728 till 1748 which are now in an old Black Leather Trunk.

One Book Case in which is the Docquets Narrs. in the Common Pleas from 1766 till 1777.

Two Baskets with old Writs Narrs. &ca.

One Walnut Case with Petitions, Reports, &ca. in the Common Pleas.

One Box with sundry Docquets &ca.

Four files of Precipies.

Sundry Books of Accounts left in the office to be delivered to the assignees, (when call'd for by them) of people who were discharg'd by the Court under the Insolvent Act.

One Book of Records in which is Recorded Deeds for the County of Sussex.

One Bond from Richd. W. William Esqr. & others for the true performance of Trustee of the Loan Office for New Castle County to the Honble. Jno. Penn Esqr. &ca. dated 11th March 1776—£1000.0.0.

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[26] *Ibid.*

By virture of a Commission from his Excellency, John McKinly Esquire President Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Delaware State and by an order from his Excellency bearing date March 12th 1777. I do hereby acknowledge to have received from Theodore Maurice Esqr. late Prothonotary for the Common Pleas for the County of Newcastle the above Books and Records as they stand Stated—this Eighteenth Day of March One Thousand seven hundred and seventy seven.

Gunning Bedford Pro.

[*Report of Governor Joshua Clayton to the General Assembly in 1793 concerning the Records Secured from South Carolina*] [26]

Dover, January 15, 1793

In Pursuance of the Resolution of the General Assembly, of the 20th of *January*, 1792, I have by an application to the Governor of *South-Carolina*, procured from thence, such of our public Papers as were in that State, consisting of

1. A Ledger of the *Delaware* Military Accounts, containing those relative to the Flying Camp Battalion.
2. The Proceedings of that Branch of the Council of Safety, which resided in the County of *New-Castle*, from the 25th of *September*, 1775, to the 4th of *January*, 1777, inclusive.
3. The Records of 148 mortgages, made to the Trustees of the Loan-Office of *New-Castle* County, from the 2d of *April*, 1730, to the 11th of August, 1735, inclusive.
4. The Records of 185 Mortgages, made to the Trustees of the said Office, from the 24th of April, 1735, to the 20th of March, 1745, inclusive.
5. The Book containing the Loans made in the same County, of the Emission of 1759, and the Receipts and Expenditures of Money of the said Emission.
6. The original Mortgages made to the Trustee of the Loan-Office of said County, of the Emission of 1776, being in Number 155, together with the corresponding Bons and Warrants of Attorney, executed by the Mortgagors.

The above-mentioned Ledger, containing the Military Accounts, may perhaps not improperly be deposited in the office of the Treasury; the Proceedings of the Council of Safety in the Secretary's office; and, if the general Assembly shall not otherwise direct, I purpose to cause the Books relative to the Loan-Office of *New-Castle* County, to be deposited in that Office.

Joshua Clayton

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[26] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware*, 1793, pp. 22-23.

News Notes and Book Reports

A Revolutionary War journal printed in the current number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (see Book Reports) sheds unexpected light on a flag in our collection. This Delaware flag was captured shortly before the Battle of the Brandywine in 1777, by British Captain William Collins Dansey, and taken to England, where it remained in the possession of his descendants for the next century and a half. The Society bought it at auction in London in 1927, along with a series of letters by Captain Dansey, who refers to the flag in his letter of October 11, 1777, as follows:

> I must tell you a Piece of good Luck I had a few Days before the Battle of the Brandywine On a Flanking Party I took the Horse Arms, Colours and Drums belonging to a Rebel Colonel of the Delaware Militia made his Brother Prisoner & caused all his Baggage to be taken, which the General very politely sent back again but the Horse, Arms & Colours came to my share, the later I hope to bring as a Trophy to Brinsop. . . .

In the journal referred to above, British Lieutenant Henry Stirke, under date of September 8, mentions what must have been the same incident:

> At ½ after 5 O'Clock the Army march'd in three Divisions, from the left, towards Lancaster; and after marching about 10 miles, took post on some high grounds having turn'd the Right flank of ye Rebel Army. This day we got 2 Stand of Colours, a number of Regimental Swords, and five or six Stand of Arms &c at Colonel Patterson's House; he made his escape as the Light Infantry appear'd.

This was Samuel Patterson, who, according to Scharf (p. 239) "lived near Christiana, where he owned and operated the largest grist-mill in the colony.—He was a rich man and a sound patriot. . . ." Samuel was one of at least nine children of William Patterson, also a miller at Christiana (New Castle County Wills, pp. 106, 133). The *Delaware Guide*, p. 485, gives directions for getting to this mill, which was in operation as late as 1924.

Two Civil War exhibits had their inspiration in articles in the April, 1961 issue of *Delaware History*, "The Civil War Diaries of Anna M. Ferris," edited by Dr. Harold B. Hancock, and "The Brandywine Home Front during the Civil War . . . 1861" by Dr. Norman B. Wilkinson.

In the exhibit on the Brandywine Home Front, quotations from Dr. Wilkinson's article serve as captions for many of the illustrations. There are copies of government orders for ambulances and harness to be made in Wilmington, pictures of the Wilmington and Brandywine mills, and an account of a "terrific explosion" which leveled buildings at the Du Pont powder yards early in the war. Among the various Delaware volunteer troops raised during the war, the First Delaware Battery is represented by a contemporary lithograph. The naval side of the war is included in material pertaining to Rear Admiral Samuel Francis du Pont. There are also views of the Brandywine and its mills where men worked and wheels turned to provide the goods needed for war.

Anna Ferris was a member of a notable Quaker family and her diaries show an extremely intelligent and well-informed woman. In this exhibit pertinent quotations are shown from the manuscript diaries, along with illustrations of Wilmington places mentioned, as well as items from the past which show the varied interests of her Ferris ancestors and relations. There are silver spoons made by her uncle and cousin, both named Ziba, a sampler made by her Aunt Deborah in 1783, and various mementoes of her father Benjamin. Of the latter, perhaps the most interesting is the small notebook which he kept while he was courting Frances Canby (1803-1804), and in which he made charming pen sketches of the various means of transportation he used when he went to see Fanny—on foot or horseback, by gig, stage coach, and sailboats of different kinds. Scales for weighing gold, his sketch book, his *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, his manuscript account of his forbears referred to as "Kith and Kin" and the printed *Letters of Paul and Amicus*, Paul being Dr. Eliphalet Wheeler Gilbert, President of Delaware College, and Amicus, Benjamin Ferris, are all shown together with silhouettes of Benjamin and Fanny and a Bass Otis portrait of Benjamin. Many of the Ferris-Canby items in this exhibit are on loan from Miss Frances Canby Ferris of Bryn Mawr, and the rest came to the Society by gift through the Ferris estate and from family descendants. The exhibit was arranged by Miss Lynn L. Brubaker, a Hagley Fellow, during her internship at the Old Town Hall.

Our other Hagley Fellow, Monte Calvert, performed a very useful service in re-describing and tagging all the small firearms in our collection. With selections from these he mounted an exhibit showing the development of the pistol from the early match-, wheel-, and flintlock types to the later percussion cap and the modern rim-fire weapons, as well as the original one-shot type, then pistols with two or more barrels, with revolving barrels ("revolvers"), and finally the automatic. Shown along with the weapons themselves were powder horns, bullet molds, and paper and metal cartridges. Some of the specimens on display were of association interest—for example, sets of pistols given by Washington

to Gunning Bedford, Jr., and by Lafayette to George Read, and General James H. Wilson's Colt revolver and Mauser 98. We have quite a respectable collection of lethal weapons, all of which came to us by gift from many donors.

A recent gift by Dr. Lewis Rumford (since deceased) of a set of seven Delft tiles from a collection made by his mother, led to the arrangement of a small exhibit of these tiles and the few already in our possession. Three of the Rumford tiles had been in Delaware homes; two in the Cantwell Jones home near Odessa, and one in the John McKinly home at Third and French streets. Of two other tiles owned by the Society one had been in the Richard Richardson home near Newport, and the other in the E. T. Canby home at 1212 Delaware Avenue, Wilmington. It is probable that the tile from the Mrs. L. Heisler Ball estate may have been in a Delaware home. These tiles are all of the decorative type usually seen as a border around a fireplace.

Of a different form are two brick-shaped tiles from the Old Tile House at New Castle, and one from a house on Second Street between King and French streets in Wilmington. The tile from Second Street was presented to the Society by Mr. A. D. Vandever in 1885. Of the two from the Old Tile House, one bears a label with the signature of Geo. Read, N:Castle, 7th Janry, 1780. The other which has the incised date 1687 was given to the Society by Dr. John J. Black.

The magenta McKinly tile has as companion pieces in the exhibit a silver thimble, a beautiful fan, and a dainty cup and saucer of Lowestoft china, which had belonged to Jane Richardson McKinly, wife of John McKinly, President of the Delaware State, and a letter he had written to his "Dearest Jenny" in 1778 when he was a prisoner of the British at Flat Bush on Long Island, during the Revolutionary War.

The Richardson tile is highlighted by photographs of his house (built in 1765), a Blue Dove pattern porcelain saucer used by Ann Spackman Richardson, and a silhouette of Samuel Richardson, both of whom were later occupants of the house. These Richardson items were the gift of Mrs. Samuel Bancroft, Jr., and the E. T. Canby tile came from Miss Madge B. Tyre.

Reference has been made in the April number of this magazine (p. 293) to an exhibit which included, among other objects, seven pieces of silver which belonged to Christina Stone, the great-great-grandmother of Mrs. Horace A. Beale, Jr. We now have on display additional Christina Stone material, namely two tablespoons made by J. Wolf, a fichu, a cap, and a portrait, by an unknown artist, in which Christina is wearing a cap similar in style to the one owned by the Society. The portrait, a recent gift from Mrs. Beale, is placed so that Christina seems to be looking down at these objects which once graced her person and home and those of her descendants.

From the home of Mrs. James (Mary Hastings) Brian (married in 1809), Mrs. Beale's great grandmother, have come a creamer, sugar bowl, tablespoon, and teaspoon, all the work of the Delaware silversmith, Thomas McConnell; silver teapot, hot water pot, and spectacle frames with green glass side pieces which can be worn over or at the side of the regular lenses, all made by James Guthre; two chatelaines which may be the work of James Kendall; and a silhouette of Mary. Her daughter Sarah Hastings Brian married Samuel Morris in 1833. These grandparents of Mrs. Beale are represented in the present exhibit by two Guthre spoons and a G. J. Wolf dessert spoon. A sampler made in 1793 by Jane, sister of Mary; a silhouette of Jane cut at the Peale museum in Philadelphia; and a Guthre dessert spoon marked ATM for Amelia Theresa Morris, are also part of this unique collection of the work of Delaware silversmiths which has come down in one family. Some of these pieces are on loan but many belong to the Society. Together they form an unusually interesting family exhibit.

Mrs. Sally Guertler Farris has been added to the staff of the Historical Society of Delaware as curator, as of June 26. After two years as a Hagley Fellow, Mrs. Harris was awarded the M. A. degree in history by the University of Delaware at its June commencement, doing her thesis on "The Wilmington Merchant, 1775-1815." Her husband, Russell Eugene Farris, Jr., is a graduate student in chemistry at the University and they live in Newark. Mrs. Farris is from Riverton, New Jersey; Mr. Farris is from Denver, Colorado; and they both took their undergraduate degrees at the University of Pennsylvania.

After seven years service as president of the Society, the Rev. Dr. John W. Christie announced his retirement from that office at the annual meeting on April 10, 1961. Dr. Christie said that he had already retired from the presidency of the Presbyterian Historical Society (which he had held concurrently with ours for several years), and at the age of seventy-seven felt that he should be relieved of further responsibilities of this kind. On motion of Mr. Irving Warner a rising vote of thanks and appreciation was given to the retiring president for his services to our Society. On July 13, 1961, the Board of Directors elected the Hon. Edwin D. Steel, Jr., of Wilmington, to succeed Dr. Christie as president. Mr. Steel is a judge of the United States District Court for the District of Delaware and has been a director of the Society since 1951.

Recent Publications of Delaware Interest

Bradford, S. Sydney, ed. "A British Officer's Revolutionary War Journal, 1776-1778," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LVI, No. 2 (June, 1961), 150-75. See "News Notes."

Chamberlain, Samuel. *Mystic Seaport: a Camera Impression* (New York: Hastings House, 1959), 72 pp., illus., paper bound, $1.00. "The pharmacy collection from the apothecary of Joseph Bringhurst at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1793" is pictured on p. 35.

Chandler, Stedham. "The First Combat Infantryman," *Army*, XI, No. 11 (June, 1961), 29-34. Captain Robert Kirkwood.

Cook, Fred J. *What Manner of Men; Forgotten Heroes of the American Revolution* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1959). 335 pp. maps. $5.00. Undocumented but interestingly written. Chapter II is on Captain Allen McLane of Delaware.

"Cover Picture: Allen C. Redwood, Confederate Illustrator," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LIV, No. 3 (September, 1959), 293-95. Redwood spent some time as a prisoner in Fort Delaware. The cover picture is his sketch of a boxing match there.

A Day in Old New Castle. . . . No comp. (New Castle, Del.: Friends of Immanuel Church, 1960). 4 pp., folder, illus., map.

Delaware. *Intrastate Water Resources Survey, 1959* (Wilmington: William N. Cann, Inc., [1961?]). Various paging, illus., maps, charts. An exhaustive study, made by various state agencies, under the direction of the Delaware Basin Survey Coordinating Committee for the State of Delaware. Present conditions are described, and growth and development projections for the future are made. While water supply and pollution are emphasized, the survey includes related subjects such as transportation in relation to population growth, possible industrial growth in relation to labor supply, and conservation of soil, beaches, games and fish, and even cultural resources (by the Public Archives Commission).

The Delaware Society Of The Sons Of The American Revolution . . . , 1959-1960. No comp. (The Delaware Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, 1959), n. p., 18 pp., illus.

[Devine, Donn]. *A Brief Account Of The 198th Artillery Regiment First Delaware Infantry Delaware National Guard* (Office of the Adjutant General, Wilmington, 1959). 4 pp.

Di Michele, Anthony F.; Munroe, John; Frank, William P.; and Neal, Joseph G., comps. *Coffee Run 1762-1960: The Story Of The Beginning of the Catholic Faith in Delaware* (Hockessin, Del.: Parish of St. John the Evangelist, 1960). 43 pp., maps, illus. An account of the oldest Roman Catholic parish in Delaware, with a sketch of the life of its missionary priest, Father Patrick Kenney, and accounts of others prominently connected with its affairs throughout its history.

Dunlap, A. R. and Weslager, C. A. "Contributions to the Ethno-History of the Delaware Indians on the Brandywine," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XXX, No. 1, 18-21. Describes a summer fishing camp within

present-day Wilmington; and the ceremonies attending the burial of an Indian who committed suicide while there.

Engelbrecht, Howard H. *Climates of the States: Delaware* (U. S. Weather Bureau, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959). 15¢, 18 pp., maps, charts.

Ford, Alice. "The Publication of Edward Hick's *Memoirs*," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, L, No. 1 (Spring, 1961), 4-11. Contains references to Benjamin Ferris of Wilmington.

Gara, Larry. *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961). 201 pp. $5.00. Wilbur H. Siebert, the great historian of the Underground Railroad, defined it as "a vast network of secret routes over which fugitive slaves were passed along, chiefly in the night time, from the Southern States to Canada during a prolonged period before the Civil War." Siebert began collecting his materials in the 1890's when many abolitionists were still living, and he was inclined to accept their statements at face value, deeming the memories of the aged more accurate than those of young people. On the contrary, the historian Edward Channing's studies convinced him that there was "much less system and much more spontaneity than has generally been supposed," in the business of helping fugitives to free soil. Of these two views, the more romantic one of Siebert has prevailed in the popular mind and even among historians. As might be expected, Professor Gara finds for Channing rather than Siebert, in a brief but authoritative book which makes interesting and lively reading, regardless of how much or how little one already knows about the Underground Railroad. The author's researches have taken him through the voluminous scrap books left by Siebert and to various local repositories (including ours), where he has found much unpublished and much newspaper material which he quotes or cites throughout his book. For the frequent references to Delaware, see index under Delaware, Wilmington, Thomas Garrett, Anne Parrish, etc.

Gipson, Lawrence Henry. "An Anomalous American Colony," *Pennsylvania History*, XXVII, No. 2 (April, 1960), 144-64. An examination of Delaware's peculiar governmental structure and its relationship to Pennsylvania, its other neighbors and the British Empire.

A Guide to Historic Fort Delaware Pea Patch Island Delaware City. No comp. (Wilmington: Fort Delaware Society, 1960). 4 pp., illus.

Hamlin, Paul M., and Baker, Charles. *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691-1704* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1959). 3 vol., illus., $25. A work of meticulous scholarship, of prime importance for colonial legal history. Volume one is a history of the court. Volume two contains the minutes, 1691-1692 and 1701-1704 (the intervening years are already in print), with

extensive annotations. Volume three includes, besides indexes, biographies of the judges and lawyers of the court. See index for references to families of Delaware importance (Loockermans, Bayard).

Hayes, John D. "Samuel Francis du Pont and the Naval Academy," *Shipmate* (February, 1961), pp. 7-8.

Henry Seidel Canby: In Memoriam. 12 pp., illus.

Hilton, George W., and Due, John F. *The Electric Interurban Railways in America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960). 463 pp., illus., $9.50. "Strictly speaking, Delaware had no interurbans," according to the authors of this comprehensive work. They mention briefly the Wilmington and Philadelphia Traction Company's lines to Chester, Philadelphia, Stanton and Delaware City via New Castle, and also a trolley line between Middletown and Odessa about 1906-1909. Harlan & Hollingsworth and Jackson & Sharp built several cars for the interurbans.

Holloway, H. V., comp. *Delaware Day, December 7, 1959* (Dover: Delaware Day Commission, 1959). 10 pp., folder, illus.

Huff, Adelaide Jones. "The Jones Family in America and Collateral Families of Immigrant John Jones Of Kent County, Delaware, c. 1755-1959" (Annapolis, Md.: 1960), 83 pp., typescript.

Incorporated Towns of Delaware (Dover: Delaware State Highway Department and U. S. Department of Commerce, 1959), 51 pp., maps. A series of large-scale maps showing the streets of each community represented.

Jacobs, Carl. *Guide to American Pewter* (New York: McBride, 1957). 216 pp., illus. $10. Delaware makers listed: James Broom, Abraham Hasselberg, Ivory Lucas.

Kerkonnen, Martii. *Peter Kalm's North American Journey: Its Ideological Background and Results* (Helsinki, Finland: The Finnish Historical Society, 1959), *Studia Historica*, Vol. I, 260 pp., illus., map. A scholarly and readable study of all phases of the noted naturalist's botanical work in America, treating of its purposes, preparation and method; Kalm's life and personality as they concerned his American experience; modes of life and thought in Scandanavia and America in the middle eighteenth century; and previously unpublished observations from Kalm's diaries. Chapter V portrays the life of the Swedes and Finns in former New Sweden, both as Kalm observed it around 1750 and as he learned of its earlier period from records and conversation. The volume likewise contains much of interest relating to religion, education, the Indians, and social and political conditions in North America.

Kornitzer, Bela. *The Real Nixon, an Initimate Biography* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1960). 352 pp., illus. Paper bound, $1.95. The

former Vice President's first paternal American ancestor of record was James Nixon of Brandywine Hundred, whose will is date 1773. His son George married Sarah Seeds in Holy Trinity Church, Wilmington, in 1775, served in the Revolution, and later moved to Ohio. On his mother's side Nixon is descended from the Quaker family of Milhous of Chester County, Pennsylvania, through William Milhous, who went to Ohio in 1805.

Manuscript Holdings of the Longwood Library, January, 1960 (Kennett Square, Pa.: The Longwood Library, 1960), 3 pp., mimeo.

News Letter of Historic Red Clay Valley, Inc. A new publication published at 1301 Orange Street, Wilmington.

Old Dover, 4 pp., folder, illus.; *Old Dover Days, May 7 & 8, 1960*, 6 pp., folder, illus.; and *1960 Old Dover Days*, 8 pp., illus., map (Dover: Friends of Old Dover, 1960).

People's Church, Congregational Christian, Dover. *Fiftieth Anniversary . . . 1909-1959.* 32 pp., illus. Chiefly devoted to the history of the church.

Perkins, John A., and Robeson, Bailey. *Harry Fletcher Brown; an Essay in Appreciation* (University of Delaware Press, 1960). 128 pp., port. The senior author of this interesting and informative little biography is president of the University of Delaware. His subject is one of Delaware's great philanthropists of the past generation. Mr. Brown was a chemist and vice-president of the Du Pont Company. His many contributions to the cause of education in Delaware include very substantial gifts to the Historical Society.

Perkins, John A. "Inner Space." 1960. 16 pp. Mimeo. Speech at the University of Delaware alumni reunion.

Regional Planning Commission of New Castle County. *Annual Report*, June 30, 1960. 35 pp., maps, charts. Mimeo.

Roster (Society of the Cincinnati, 1959). 126 pp. Delaware, pp. 45-46, 94, 118.

Rydgren, Adolph A. *News Letter: Delaware Swedish Colonial Society* Nos. 1-4 (Wilmington: Delaware Swedish Colonial Society, May, October, 1959, February, March, 1960).

Sandoz, Mari. "Dakota Country," *American Heritage*, XIII, No. 4 (June, 1961), 42-53. Illus. The South Dakota paintings of Harvey Dunn, a pupil of Howard Pyle.

Shuster, Carl N., Jr. *A Biological Evaluation of the Delaware River Estuary* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Marine Laboratories, 1959). 77 pp., mimeo., charts.

Smith, Wilbur, and Associates. *Traffic and Parking: Wilmington, Delaware* (Wilmington: 1959). 123 pp., maps, graphs.

Springer, Ruth L., and Wallman, Louise. "Two Swedish Pastors Describe

Philadelphia, 1700 and 1702," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIV, No. 2 (April, 1960), 194-218.

Stephens, Donald. *The Story of the Three Ardens.* 9 pp. 5¢ from the author, 2313 Woodland Lane, Arden. Reprinted from: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, New York, *Land Value Taxation around the World* (1955). 216 pp.

U. S. Department of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. *Bombay Hook National Wildlife Refuge.* Rev. ed., 1960. 4 pp., map. *Birds of the Bombay Hook National Wildlife Refuge.* Rev. ed., 1957. 4 pp. Free from the Bombay Hook National Wildlife Refuge, Smyrna.

Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Richmond. *Races and Restaurants; Two Opinions.* April 20, 1960, 8 pp. Wilmington Parking Authority and Eagle Coffee Shop, Inc., vs. William H. Burton, pp. 4-7.

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